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The Magazine

of the Honourable

Society of Cymmrodorion

FOR 1890—91.

EDITED BY

EGERTON PHILLIMORE.

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Y Cymmrodor.

Vol. XI. "Cared doeth yr encilion." Part 1.

THE PRESERVATION OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS IN WALES.

By J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A. (Scot.)[1]

In addressing a cultured audience such as the one assembled here this evening, it will perhaps hardly be necessary to dwell at any great length upon the desirability of arresting the destruction of the ancient remains with which every part of Wales abounds. The educated classes in most civilized communities recognize the value of accumulated knowledge derived from the past as an instrument of progress in the future, and they understand that the demolition of any ancient monument means the cutting off for ever of a possible source of information as to the history of man at the particular period when the monument was erected.

The mere recognition of this principle by the cultured few, however, is not the same thing as its recognition by the many, nor does it amount to putting the principle into practice. We have, therefore, to consider in what way the opinion of the minority may best make itself felt throughout

[1] Read before the Society on Wednesday, March 12th, 1890.

the whole community, and what are the most efficient practical means that can be adopted for ensuring the preservation of ancient monuments throughout the country.

In order to be in a better position to understand the subject, it may be worth while to take a retrospect of the various circumstances to which we owe the preservation of ancient monuments in the past, and on the other hand to examine carefully into the causes which tend to their destruction. The escape of many pre-historic remains is due to their being situated on waste land beyond the reach of the plough; but, as the area of cultivation increases year by year, their risk of removal increases likewise. The great and often useless labour that would be entailed in levelling the more important earthworks and tumuli has generally proved their best protection. Respect for the dead has no doubt prevented many a sepulchral cairn from being interfered with; and even where this feeling is not so strong as it should be, the peasantry in most districts have, or had, a wholesome dread of the evil consequences that would be certain to follow if a stone or other object round which superstitions have gathered were removed. There are, indeed, authentic instances of violent thunderstorms having interrupted the labours of some enthusiastic barrow-opener, and compelled him to beat a hasty retreat, such manifestations being looked upon by the common people as judgments from Heaven. Many remains, such as Roman pavements, owe their preservation to being covered with the *débris* of fallen buildings and earth. Other monuments have continued to exist on account of their usefulness when applied to an entirely different object from that for which they were originally intended. Endless instances could be given of crosses broken up and built into walls, of inscribed pillar-stones utilized as gate-posts, bridges over streams, stands for sun-dials, lintels of win-

dows, quoin-stones; and in one case an inscribed stone was found employed as a mangle-weight. Perhaps one of the most curious cases was that of an Ogham-inscribed stone, now in the British Museum, which was kept by its finder not because it was inscribed, but because he was a collector of oddly-shaped stones, and the one in question resembled a coffin.

Now, as to the destructive agencies. First and foremost we have the process of natural decay from exposure to the weather, sometimes accelerated by such sudden catastrophes as earthquakes, floods, or strokes of lightning. War has always been a fertile source of danger to all buildings, whether new or old; and country people are never tired of attributing their destruction to Oliver Cromwell, who, although he has a great deal to answer for, gets much undeserved abuse for things he never did. For one building that was injured in the Civil Wars a hundred have disappeared altogether on account of the materials having been carted away for the erection of more modern structures. For instance, the village of Avebury is almost entirely built out of the megalithic remains by the ruins of which it is now surrounded. Agricultural operations, as they encroach upon the waste lands, generally sweep away every ancient stone and earthwork that interferes with the work of the plough. Lastly, the fool who destroys through ignorance, the vandal through wilful stupidity, and the iconoclast through religious zeal—these, like the poor, are always with us; but perhaps the most destructive of all agencies is the small boy, more especially when armed with a stone. It is said that if boys' physical powers were at all proportionate to their love of doing mischief, the human race would soon cease to exist.

And now let us come to the practical side of the question, and see what attempts have already been made to stem the tide of destruction. I believe that Sir John Lubbock was

the first person who endeavoured to wake the public conscience with a view to legislating upon the subject, and in 1882 a Bill for the Better Protection of Ancient Monuments was passed through Parliament chiefly by his instrumentality. This Bill, commonly known as the Ancient Monuments Act, differs from the one originally proposed by Sir John Lubbock in not being compulsory in the case of the more important monuments. The chief provisions of the Act in the form it was passed are as follows:—

(1) To enable the owner of any ancient monument, by deed under his hand, to constitute the Commissioners of Works its guardians; the owner by doing so relinquishing no right which he previously possessed with regard to the monument, except that of being able to destroy it; and the Commissioners of Works, on the other hand, to maintain (i.e., fence in, cover in, cleanse or repair) the monument at the expense of the Government.

(2) To enable the Commissioners of Works to purchase any ancient monument.

(3) To enable owners to bequeath ancient monuments to the Commissioners of Works.

(4) To enable the Commissioners of Works to appoint one or more Inspectors of ancient monuments.

(5) To enable local magistrates to punish with a fine of 5*l.* or one month's imprisonment any person convicted of injuring or defacing an ancient monument.

(6) To enable other ancient monuments to be added to the schedule.

The Act concludes with the following definition of an ancient monument:—"The expression 'ancient monuments to which this Act applies' means the monuments described in the schedule hereto, and any other monuments of a like character of which the Commissioners of Works at the request of the owners thereof may consent to become guardians; and

'ancient monument' includes the site of such monument, and such portion of the land adjoining the same as may be required to fence, cover in, or otherwise preserve from injury the monuments standing on such site, also the means of access to such monument."

The schedule referred to is a list of 68 ancient monuments, of which 26 are in England, 3 in Wales, 21 in Scotland, and 18 in Ireland.

I do not know by whom this schedule was compiled, or upon what principle its author went in making the particular selection of monuments given, as many important specimens, and even classes of remains, are entirely omitted. The idea seems to have been to avoid the difficulty of defining and dating the various classes of monuments by giving a series of typical examples of each kind without any sort of arrangement. The monuments included comprise :—

Tumuli, chambered and otherwise;

Megalithic remains, such as stone circles and cromlechs;

Camps, dykes, and other military earthworks;

Vitrified forts;

Ancient British villages and hut circles;

Scottish Brochs or Pictish Towers;

Irish Rath Caves;

Rude pillar-stones with Ogham inscriptions or incised crosses;

Crosses of the 9th and 10th centuries with Hiberno-Saxon ornament or inscriptions.

Roman and Mediæval antiquities appear to be excluded altogether.

I think the schedule in its present shape is rather misleading, and requires careful revision.

The Ancient Monuments Act was put into operation soon after it was passed. The first thing was to appoint an Inspector, and no better selection could have been made

than General Pitt Rivers, D.C.L., &c., who has done so much to advance the studies of anthropology and archæology, both by the numerous costly excavations he has undertaken and by opening to the public the magnificent museum which bears his name at Oxford. In recording what has been done since the passing of the Act, I need hardly say that her Majesty's Inspector of Ancient Monuments has exerted himself to the utmost in order to induce owners to take advantage of the measure; and if the progress made has not been so rapid as might have been expected, this is due to the apathy of the public, the scant encouragement given by the Government to the scheme, and, above all, to the fact of its being only permissive in its operation instead of compulsory. Notwithstanding the various difficulties that have had to be contended with, a very fair amount of progress has been made during the eight years the Act has been in operation. In his address to the Anthropological Section of the British Association during the meeting at Bath in 1888, General Pitt Rivers reviewed the working of the Act up to that time. With regard to the permissive nature of the Act, he says:—"A Permissive Act naturally implies that there is some one in the country who desires to make use of it; whereas, as a fact, no owner has voluntarily offered any monument to be put under the Act, except one (Sir Herbert Maxwell), to whom I shall refer presently; all have had to be sought out and asked to accept the Act, and of the owners of scheduled monuments the larger number have refused."

A map accompanies the address as printed in the Report of the British Association, showing the monuments that had been placed under the Act up to 1887. They are 36 in number, pretty evenly distributed over England, Scotland, and Wales, although there are fewer in Wales than else-

where. The Irish monuments are under the guardianship of the Irish Office of Works, and therefore do not concern us. Of the 36 monuments under the Act, 24 were in the original schedule, and 12 added since, thus :—

	No. of monuments in original schedule.	No. of monuments in original schedule placed under the Act.	No. of monuments added to original schedule and placed under Act.
England . .	27	14	4
Wales . . .	3	1	0
Scotland . .	21	9	8

General Pitt Rivers thinks that the present Act would be improved if the Government were not made entirely responsible for the maintenance of the monuments in the schedule, because the Treasury always endeavour to curtail expenditure, and therefore additions to the list are not as a rule encouraged. He also deplores the fact that the archæological societies throughout the country have not rendered him more assistance. He says :—" At present local archæologists wash their hands of the matter, thinking there is a Government Inspector whose business it is to look after the monuments. This is a mistake; the proper function of the Inspector is simply to look after the monuments that are included, and to advise the Commissioners—not to obtain new monuments for the Act. I have done so because I was charged in a special manner with the organization and working of the Act on its first introduction, but it is beyond the proper functions of the Inspector. I have done it as a private individual, and any other private individual may do the same."

It is a great pity, I think, that the local archæological societies have not done more to assist in the preservation of ancient monuments, but the fact is that not much help can be expected in this quarter, because if any society is written to on the subject the letter is laid before its council, and, after some complimentary remarks, perhaps an abstract

resolution is passed, and there the matter drops, without any practical good resulting from it.

What is most urgently required at present is some machinery for communicating with the owners of monuments, in order to induce them to take advantage of the Act, and also for finding out what monuments in each district it would be most desirable to deal with. General Pitt Rivers has suggested the formation of voluntary local committees for these purposes, several of which have already been set on foot in England and Scotland with very satisfactory results. A committee at Aberdeen has secured two sculptured stones at Dyce; another in Forfarshire has obtained two crosses at Aberlemno; and others have commenced operations in Fifeshire, Gloucestershire, and Wilts. The following is an outline of General Pitt Rivers' plan[2]:—"Committees to be formed wherever a suitable number of persons can be got together with sufficient enthusiasm to prevent their minding an occasional snub from the owners of the monuments. The area to be supervised by each committee to depend upon the possibilities of action in each case. Committees can be multiplied later on if they succeed. The committees to find out the monuments most worthy of protection, and to apply to the owners to allow them to be protected. Where it is desirable to obtain assistance from Government, then to get the owners to put the monuments under the Act, explaining to them at the same time the nature of the Act, and showing that private ownership is not interfered with by it. When these necessary preliminaries are completed, and the owner consents, H.M. Inspector of Ancient Monuments is referred to. He goes down as soon as circumstances admit of it, and takes plans, sections, drawings, and perhaps even a

[2] As explained in a letter to the author of this paper, dated October 16th, 1889.

model of the monument, and reports to the Office of Works. The First Commissioner will then decide what sum, if any, is to be granted in aid of the protection of the monument. The committee then carries out the work, on the completion of which, or as soon after as may be convenient, H.M. Inspector goes down again and examines and reports to the First Commissioner. A local subscription to be raised before applying for Government aid. The committee acting in aid of the Government undertaking will be possessed of a certain status in dealing with the owners, subject of course to the subsequent approval of the First Commissioner of Works in all cases in which Government aid is applied for. There may be cases in which it will not be found necessary to apply to H.M. Inspector at all, in the same way that the Inspector finds that a great deal of the work of protection can be done without referring to the Office of Works. Where it is thought advisable by the committees, a joint or simultaneous appeal might be made to the owner by the committee and the Inspector, by which means both local and Government influence would be brought to bear." I think that every one will agree that the plan thus sketched out is a very admirable one, and should be applied with as little delay as possible to the case of Wales. Looking at the schedule at the end of the Act it will be seen that only three ancient monuments are included out of the whole of Wales, namely, the Chambered Tumulus at Plâs Newydd, in Anglesey, Arthur's Quoit Cromlech, in Gower, and Pentre Evan Cromlech, in Pembrokeshire. Out of these only the last mentioned has been placed under the Act by Lord Kensington.

Now, as Wales is as rich as, if not richer than England in ancient remains of every kind, it is clear that there is a wide field open for getting more monuments in this part of Great Britain placed under the Act. But before this

can be done we must know what monuments exist in Wales. That is to say, that an archæological survey of some kind is an absolute necessity as the first step towards taking advantage of the Act. I have always maintained that a general archæological survey of Great Britain by Government should have preceded and not followed the introduction of a Bill for the Protection of Ancient Monuments. Something in the nature of an archæological survey has been carried out by the Ordnance Surveyors, but their work is necessarily very imperfect for want of technical knowledge. In the Geological Survey trained geologists are employed, but I have never heard of a specialist in archæology whose duty it was to supervise the plotting of antiquities on the Government Maps of the Ordnance Survey. Sometimes the Surveyors have a smattering of archæology, just sufficient, indeed, to show that a little knowledge is a dangerous thing. I cannot help thinking that it would be a great advantage if there was some sort of co-operation between a committee of experts in archæology and the Ordnance Survey.

General Pitt Rivers holds that it does not come within the province of the duties of the Inspector of Ancient Monuments to make a preliminary survey in order to ascertain what antiquities exist in any part of the country, and which of them it would be desirable to place under the Act. This must be done by private enterprise, and is one of the *raisons d'être* of the local committees.

A good deal of the material for making catalogues of the various classes of ancient remains in Wales exists in the volumes of the *Archæologia Cambrensis,* and only requires a little trouble to put it into shape. Almost every inscribed stone and early sculptured cross has been described and illustrated by Prof. I. O. Westwood. The late Rev. E. L. Barnwell made megalithic structures his special study, and

there is hardly a single cromlech that he has not dealt with exhaustively. All that is wanted now is a small band of workers, each of whom will take up some particular class of monument and treat it in a similar manner.

Having found out what monuments require to be placed under the Act, the next question is how to induce the owners to consent to have them scheduled. This is not always an easy matter. Some are afraid that their rights will be interfered with. To them it should be explained that by scheduling a monument no right except that of destroying the monument is relinquished. The Government does not aim at the acquisition of the monuments for the nation, but is particularly anxious that the proprietors should look upon them as their own after they have placed them under the Act, and should assist in their preservation.

Another common objection raised by the owner is that he does not see the necessity for Government help when he is quite capable of looking after the monuments on his own estate himself. True, there can be no better guardian of an ancient monument than an owner who values it and cares for it; but he has no guarantee that his successor will follow in his footsteps in this respect, and by not scheduling a monument he is unable to take advantage of the power to get any malicious person who damages it severely punished. I have always thought that it would be a good thing if the owner of every ancient monument could be appointed its hereditary guardian and be answerable for its safe keeping, in the same way that the relics of the Early Celtic Church were protected and handed down from father to son.

We come lastly to the practical means adopted for the protection of an ancient monument when once it has been placed under the Act. As a preliminary to taking any steps for the protection of a monument, complete drawings of

the whole and sometimes models have to be made. It is impossible to over-estimate the value of the record thus obtained of the exact condition of all the most important ancient remains in Great Britain. Unfortunately the funds supplied by Government for this most necessary part of the work are quite inadequate. What has been done up to the present in this direction is due almost entirely to the private munificence of General Pitt Rivers. It would be very desirable to have an exhibition of drawings, photographs, and models of a typical series of ancient monuments, illustrating their development; and I cannot imagine any fitter person to organize such an exhibition than H.M. Inspector. We want to get the public generally to take an interest in the matter; and I feel sure that an exhibition of the kind proposed would do more than anything else to stimulate a desire to see the monuments themselves. The better known any monument is, the less chance there will be of its being damaged with impunity.

As to the actual precautions taken for protecting a monument, the Act states that the words "maintain" and "maintenance" include the fencing, repairing, cleansing, covering in, or doing any other act or thing which may be required for the purpose of repairing any monument or protecting the same from decay or injury. No mention is made of a custodian on the spot to look after the monument. I had an opportunity recently of seeing the plan adopted by the French Government for protecting the Dolmens, &c., of the Morbihan. Each monument was surrounded by a low stone wall of dry rubble masonry, and a small pillar erected in the ground gave the name of the monument thus:—

DOLMEN DE COURCONO
PROPRIÉTÉ DE L'ÉTAT.

In Great Britain a notice-board takes the place of this

stone. Notice-boards are always unsightly, and I think the French plan an improvement on our system.

It will be impossible to enter here into all the questions connected with the subject, but there is one which should not be passed over, and that is what should be done with semi-portable monuments, such as inscribed stones and early sculptured crosses, which, if left in their present positions, will inevitably perish eventually by exposure to the weather. There are only two alternatives, either to remove them from the sites they now occupy, and place them within some building, or to erect a structure to cover them over. Most archæologists are, I think, agreed on the following points :—

(1) All inscribed or sculptured stones should be protected from the weather.

(2) If an inscribed or sculptured stone occupies its original site, it should not be moved, but a structure built over it.

(3) If an inscribed or sculptured stone is not *in situ*, it should be removed, and placed within some building.

There seems, however, to be a divergence of opinion as to whether when a stone is removed it should be preserved in the locality, or placed in a local or national museum. I am personally in favour of keeping the stones in their own localities—if possible, in the nearest church. It would be quite impossible to get more than a small proportion of the sculptured stones given to any museum, and the remainder would have to be represented by casts. Such a collection would undoubtedly facilitate the study of the palæography of the inscriptions and the development of the ornament; but the space occupied would be very great on account of the size of many of the stones. As an alternative General Pitt Rivers suggested that models to the

scale of one-sixth of the original should be substituted. These models, supplemented by photographs and drawings of the ornamental details, would serve as well for purposes of study as a museum containing the stones themselves or casts thereof.

WELSH PLACE-NAMES:

A STUDY OF SOME COMMON NAME-ELEMENTS.

By J. E. LLOYD.[1]

With Notes by the Editor.

In a recent number of the Academy,[2] Mr. Elton makes the remark that the science of *toponomastique*, or the study of place-names, is still in its infancy. One is glad to have the fact recognized that such a science is possible, and that the application to historical purposes of the evidence supplied by local names may be conducted on something better than the old haphazard lines. Too long has this field of study been abandoned as the happy hunting-ground of that irrepressible person, the amateur etymologist. The progress of general knowledge in matters philological has banished this ingenious individual from many of his beloved haunts: it is rarely we hear him now derive the English *thorn* from the German *Dorn*, or the Welsh *caer* from the Hebrew *Kirjath:* but the derivation of local names at his own sweet will, without regard to rules of philology, is a luxury he still allows himself. He flourishes greatly in Wales. Not that among our hills there is a lower average of intelligence in regard to such matters than elsewhere: on the contrary, there is a very healthy and enlightened interest in the past of the country, and a little knowledge of that past, as contrasted with the dense

[1] Read before the Society on Wednesday, April 2nd, 1890.

[2] Feb. 8th, 1890.

historical ignorance of the English rural population. But it is just that little knowledge which leads the good man astray: he has heard that *gwy* is the old Welsh for 'water'[3]—at once he comes to the conclusion that *Cyn-wy*[4] or *Conway* is 'the first water,' *Ail-wy* or *Elwy* 'the second water,' and *Dyfrdwy* or *Trydedd-wy* (this is a little awkward, but the theory must not be sacrificed) is 'the third water.' Hardly a week passes but I have propounded to me, in all seriousness, by persons of good general intelligence, explanations of place-names not a whit less ridiculous than that of the "three waters."

I am glad, therefore, that there seems to be some prospect of our having in time a science of place-names, with laws of which educated people will recognize the authority. At present, I am afraid, as Mr. Elton says, that we are only just beginning, and have hardly gained any clear idea of our first principles. In *Words and Places*, by Dr. Isaac Taylor, the only English book, so far as I am aware, which deals systematically with place-names, there is a chapter on what is called "Onomatology," or the principles on which scientific investigation of the subject ought to be conducted. One feels inclined to quarrel with the term employed to describe the new science, on the ground that it contains nothing to indicate that the names to be investigated are *place*-names: "*onomatology*" ought certainly to include the analysis of personal names, a very interesting, but an entirely distinct study. This, however, is a mere trifle: it is more to the point that we have here an effort to formulate first principles for the new science in a manner not hitherto attempted. I take the following to be the chief propositions laid down by Dr. Taylor on the subject of place-names:—

1. Every place-name is significant, i.e., has an appropriate

[3] See note (*a*) at end of article. [4] See note (*b*) at end of article.

meaning in the language of the race which first made use of it.

2. The first step towards ascertaining this meaning is to trace the name back to the earliest extant form.
3. Where it is not possible to trace a name very far back, the analogy of names similarly formed must be used to explain it.
4. Nearly all names consist of two elements, the substantive element or *Grundwort,* and the adjective element or *Bestimmungswort.* The former designates the class, the latter the peculiarity of this individual in the class. Thus in *Bryn Cóch,* to take a Welsh instance, *bryn* shows the locality indicated to be a hill, and not a stream or valley, *cóch* gives the character of this particular hill, as a red or sun-parched one, conspicuous in this respect among the grassy heights around it.[5]

To these propositions no exception can of course be taken: it may, however, be complained that, as they stand, they are somewhat incomplete: they do not go enough to the root of the matter. I am not so presumptuous as to suppose I can furnish you with much better; but let me, by way of introduction to what I have specially to say about Welsh place-names, mention one or two points which seem to me worth working out by the next student who seeks to formulate the principles of this study.

Dr. Taylor's first proposition, that names of places are significant, means of course that they were not arbitrarily attached to localities without regard to meaning, as when names are given to children because they are hereditary in the family, pleasing in sound, or romantic in association, and not because of any particular meaning they convey. A place-name is a word, and not a symbol, just as personal

[5] See note (*c*) at end of article.

names were significant words in more primitive times. But Canon Taylor does not, it seems to me, lay sufficient emphasis on the simplicity of early place-names as distinguished from those of the modern world, or the fact that the names of localities were generally compounded quite unconsciously, and only became regular names after long usage. Nowadays, there is about most name-giving a very conscious air: the Arctic explorer who discovers a new inlet calls it "Jenkins Creek," and down it goes on the chart in honour of his friend and benefactor: the owner of the brand-new villa, commanding an extensive prospect of yellow brick and iron fencing and privet bushes, has "The Elms" inscribed upon his diminutive portals, because it looks well embossed in Old English characters at the head of his note-paper. Naming is now very largely an artificial process, and the names of the day betray their unreality by their inappropriateness or the awkwardness of their construction. In rural districts, however, where people are less sophisticated, name-giving of the old type still goes on, and one may watch a local name in the process of formation. A few years ago, a brick house of decidedly aggressive hue was built in a neighbourhood in Montgomeryshire where all building had hitherto been in the gray stone of the country. At once it became known, without any conscious process of naming, as *Y Ty Cóch*, and *Ty Cóch* I have no doubt it will remain until the end of the chapter.[6] In the parish of Llanbrynmair, again, the railway bridge which crosses the road to Newtown somewhat below Talerddig is known locally as *Pont Bell*, from the contractor who carried out the work, while on the same road, a little nearer Machynlleth, is *Craig Smith*, handing down the name of another contractor who in making the road had to cut through this rock. These names have

[6] See note (*d*) at end of article.

arisen by a purely natural process: they were not imposed by any authority from without, but gained currency in the district because their appropriateness, their value for purposes of distinction—the great end of name-giving—was at once recognized by all.

If this be, then, the true origin of local names, except in so far as they are modern and artificial, it is clear that any suggested explanation of a place-name must not only make sense in the language of the district, but must also be a form that is likely to have arisen in this way. Thus *Goitre* or *Y Goettref*, a name of which there are many instances in Wales, cannot mean 'the wooden village,' because in early days all villages were built of wood, and the name would in this sense not have been distinctive. It is 'the village in the wood,' as distinguished from some neighbouring *Vastre* or *Faesdref*, 'the village in the field.' *Ty Cerig* ('Stone House'), on the other hand, would have been a distinctive name, and as a matter of fact is extremely common.

The main purpose of name-giving, I have said, is to distinguish. In satisfying ourselves, however, that a local name fulfils this end, we have to bear in mind the very limited amount of travelling in early times, and therefore the narrow compass within which distinction was necessary. This tends to qualify Dr. Taylor's fourth proposition that a place-name consists of a substantive and an adjective element, the latter supplying the distinctive idea. Where only one object of its kind exists in a district, clearly no adjective element is needed to define it for the untravelled folk of that district. The hill-fortress of the region, for instance, would be known to them as *Y Gaer*, and only if there were more than one in the vicinity would it be necessary to speak of *Y Gaer Fawr*, *Y Gaer Wen*, and so forth. Names which originally contained an adjective-

element are often curtailed by the people who use them daily and have not to contrast them with others similarly formed.[7] Thus *Penrhyn Deudraeth* is locally clipped down into *Y Penrhyn*, and *Portmadoc* into *Y Port : Tywyn Meirionydd*—'the sand-flat of Meirionydd'—is now everywhere known as *Towyn : Y Wern newydd*, near New Quay, one of the resting places of Henry VII. on his journey to Bosworth Field, is called simply *Y Wern*.[8]

Place-names, being words, are of course subject to the ordinary laws of language. They undergo the process stupidly called phonetic decay: thus the *Demetæ* of Roman times give their name to mediæval *Dyfed*. They are altered from forms of which the meaning is not at once obvious into those of which there are abundant examples, as when *Glan-feiglo*, on the brooklet *Beiglo*, is transformed into *Llan-feiglo*. Similarly, *Gwynllyw-wg*, the realm of *Gwynllyw* Filwr between Usk and Rhymni, appears as *Gwaun-llwg*,[9] and sometimes as *Wentloog*, though really having nothing to do either with *gwaun* or *Gwent*. The primitive meaning of a name having been forgotten, an explanatory element is often added which is in fact already contained in the original form. Such pleonastic forms as *salt-cellar* find a parallel in the local names *Dinas Dinlle*, *Dinas Dinorwig*,[1] in which *Dinas* is really unnecessary, inasmuch as the *Din-* element expresses the fortress-idea: *din*, however, having become obsolete and given way to *dinas*, this was not perceived.

Passing by the points in which place-names simply afford illustrations of the general laws of philology, I recur to the question of the origin of these names by an unconscious process. A place-name being really a phrase out of a primitive sentence, just as if one took *Tŷ Cóch* out of such

[7] See note (*e*) at end of article.
[8] See note (*f*) at end of article.
[9] See note (*g*) at end of article.
[1] See note (*h*) at end of article.

a sentence as '*Mae o'n byw yn y tŷ cóch,*' it is above all things important, if one would ascertain the original point of a place-name, to fix the meaning of its different elements at the time it first grew into a proper name. If this is neglected, we shall go egregiously astray: coming across a *Tre-wern,* we shall conclude that this *gwern* or 'marshy flat' was once covered by a thriving market town; the name *Cyfoeth y Brenin* will precipitate us into wild speculations about the site of the royal treasury; it will puzzle us to understand what point there could have been in calling a brook *Hir-nant.*[2] Only when we learn that *tref* anciently denoted a village or hamlet, that *cyfoeth* is Old Welsh for 'land or territory,' and that a common meaning of *nant* is 'a glen or valley,' do these names yield up to us their secret. A study of the primitive significations of the words employed in making place-names is therefore a necessary preliminary to the analysis of individual local names; and what I propose to do in the rest of this paper is, if I can, to fix the meaning of certain elements which enter largely into the formation of such names in Wales. The names with which I shall deal will be names of a particular class, those which denote human habitations, or involve the political and social organization of the Old Welsh. Names expressing merely physical characteristics, such as *Rhôs Góch, Pennant, Esgair Hir, Aberystwyth,* I shall not touch, but take up those alone which testify to the presence of man. In attempting to ascertain the original sense of a name-element, it will sometimes be necessary to call in the aid of philology; but more real help will be gained from historical and topographical evidence, from observation of the use of the term in ancient Welsh documents, and from the circumstances under which it is found distributed as a name-element over the soil. This must be the excuse of a

[2] See note (*i*) at end of article.

student of history for invading what may seem at first sight to be a philological preserve.

I begin with *DIN* (sometimes corruptly *DYN*), of which *DINAS* is a derivative.[3] *Dinas* in modern Welsh is used as the equivalent of the English 'city,' but except in the case of *Dinas Mawddwy,* the diminutive borough of the commote of Mawddwy, I know of no place-name that would suggest that the old Welsh used the word in this sense. Wherever found (and it is a very common name-element), *dinas* appears in connection with the hill-fortress, British camp, or whatever we choose to call it, the large entrenched or stone-girt enclosure set on the crown of a hill which is so characteristic a relic of early British civilization. Such a camp you have at Pen*dinas,* near Aberystwyth, at Llwyn Bryn *Dinas,* near Llanrhaiadr ym Mochnant, and at *Dinas* Penmaen on Penmaen-mawr. *Dinas* Dinlle is a huge artificial mound, round which trenches have been drawn as around the sides of the hills on which *dinesydd* were usually constructed. The simpler form *DIN* has been obsolete for centuries: the pleonastic *Dinas Dinlle* occurs in the *Mabinogion,* showing that even thus early the Welsh had forgotten that *Dinlleu* (the old spelling) meant 'Lleu's *dinas,*' from the mythical Lleu (or Llew) Llaw Gyffes whose history is related in the *Mabinogi* of *Math fab Mathonwy.* As a name-element, *din* is nevertheless still in many instances to be traced: as a prefix in *Dinlle,*[4] *Dinorwig,*[5] *Dinorthin, Dinorben* and *Dinefwr*[6]; as a suffix in *Gor-ddyn*[7] *Mawr, Y Creu-ddyn,*[8] *Castell*

[3] See note (*j*) at end of article. [4] See note (*k*) at end of article.

[5] See note (*h*) at end of article. [6] See note (*l*) at end of article.

[7] The correct form of this is *Gorddin,* whence *Gorddinog,* near Bangor. In its older forms *wordin, wardin,* it is common over a very large tract of and adjoining the Welsh border, where it is Anglicized into *-wardine, -erdine,* as in *Lugwardine, Ellerdine,* &c. The ancient form of *Marden*-on-Lugg was *Maordine;* and *Hawarden* (pronounced *Harden*) is spelt *Haordine* in Domesday.—Ed.

[8] Canon Silvan Evans informs us that the commote of this name in Cardiganshire is pronounced *Creuddyn,* not *Creuddin.*—Ed.

Moyddin, *Y Breiddin*, and the numerous *Garddens* of Powysland. We recognize it at once in the -DUNUM which is so common a substantive-element in the British and Gaulish place-names handed down to us by Roman historians and Greek geographers. *Lyons* in France and *Leyden* in Holland were originally *Lugudunum* or *Lleuddin*, i.e., *Din Lleu* written as one word. There was *Uælodunum* (= *yr Uchelddin*), *Augustodunum*, *Juliodunum*, *Noviodunum*, *Vellaunodunum*, *Melodunum*, and a host of others. In Britain, *Londinium* probably belongs to the same class of formations: *Camulodunum*, *Dunium*, *Sorbiodunum*, and *Moridunum* are other instances. In Gaul the places ending in *-dunum* were regular towns elaborately walled in and styled by Cæsar "*oppida*": of Britain we are distinctly told by that author that it had no such cities. "What the Britons call an '*oppidum*' (i.e., no doubt a *dún* or *dinas*) is simply," he says, "a portion of the forest fenced round with a ditch and rampart, whither they are in the habit of retiring when they wish to repel the attack of an enemy" (*Bell. Gall.*, v. 21).[9] Their *dins*, he says in effect, are simply camps of refuge.[10] Of the words used among the Welsh to denote 'fort' or 'castle,' *din* or *dún* is the most widely distributed among the Celtic communities, and it would appear, therefore, to have been the primitive Celtic name, connected with the earliest period of Celtic civilization, a time when the strong places of a district were not continuously inhabited, but only used as places of shelter in time of special need. In Irish *dún* is a fort: instances of its occurrence in place-names are *Dundalk*, *Dungannon*, *Dun-*

[9] "Oppidum autem Britanni vocant, quum silvas impeditas vallo atque fossâ munierunt, quò, incursionis hostium vitandæ causâ, convenire consuerunt."—Ed.

[10] This exactly tallies with the fact that in two separate works of early date *din* is glossed or translated *receptaculum*, which we might in English render by 'a hold.'—Ed.

garvan, and *Dundrum*.[11] Similarly in Scotland we have *Dumbarton*[1] ('the Brythons' *dún*'), *Dumblane*, *Dumfries*, *Dunkeld*,[1] and *Dunedin*, an old name for Edinburgh.[2] As to derivation, *dún* is no doubt the Celtic representative of the old English *tún*, modern English *town*, and modern German *Zaun*, 'a hedge.' The *tún* (appearing as *-ton* in the names of modern villages) is the village settlement: earlier still, as the German *Zaun* and the Icelandic *tún* show, it was the hedge or enclosure thrown round the settlement. *Dúnaim* in Irish also means 'I enclose'; here we get then the root-idea which explains the Celtic and the Teutonic usages. Both *dinas* and *town* mean 'an enclosure;' but the former is the temporary resort in time of danger, the latter is the permanently protected home of a little community.[3]

I pass on to a more difficult word, viz. *CAER*. It is, in the first place, applied very generally to hill-fortresses which might with equal propriety, so far as one sees, have been styled *dinesydd*. Thus *Yr Hên Gaer*, near Bow Street in Cardiganshire, is a very fine British camp: so is *Caer Drewyn* near Corwen. In a number of cases, therefore, *caer* and *dinas* do not seem to be differentiated. *Caer* has, however, one special application: it is very frequently employed to indicate the sites of Roman camps or cities, a connection in which *dinas* is never found.[4] Thus Segontium

[11] In Irish *Dun Dealgan* (older *Dun Delca*), *Dun Geanainn*, *Dun Garbhain*, and *Dun Droma*.—Ed.

[1] In Irish or Gaelic *Dun Brettan*, *Dun Chaildenn* respectively.—Ed.

[2] See note (*q*) at end of article.

[3] See note (*m*) at end of article.

[4] *Din*, however, was apparently used to designate a Roman station in Cornwall. The Roman *Voluba*, near Grampound, is now called *Golden* (anciently written *Wulvedon* and the like), the first part of which word is certainly *Voluba* (*Guoloph* in Nennius, § 66; see *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 152), and the second seems to be *din*; in the West of Cornwall it is hardly likely that we should find the English *-ton*. The

is represented by *Caer yn Arfon,*[5] Deva by *Caer-lleon* ar Ddyfrdwy, Isca Silurum by *Caer-llion*[6] ar Wysg, Venta Silurum by *Caer-went,* Conovium by *Caer-rhun,*[7] and Moridunum by *Caer-fyrddin. Caer-sws*[8] in Montgomeryshire and *Caer-gai* in Merionethshire were also Roman stations, though no ancient authority has handed down their original names. *Caer-fyrddin* is an especially interesting name, showing as it does how *Caer* came into use at a later period than *din,* when proper names consisted of distinct words (as in *Din Lleu*) and were no longer compounds (as in *Lugudunum*). *Moridunum,* 'the sea-fort' (probably), is a compound of the older type; the Romans no doubt found a *dun* here—a fortified height—when first they descended into the valley of the Towy. They proceeded to construct on the spot a camp, which grew into a city under the name of *Moridunum.*[9] This the Welsh as usual styled a *caer:* it became *Caer-forddin,* a name which plainly intimated that the Roman *caer* was something different from the Welsh *din.* Gradually, the original meaning of *Morddin* was

ramparts at Golden enclose 7 acres; the place called *Tredenham* (= *Tre Dinan:* see note (*m*), *infra*) close by seems also to refer to the Roman station.—Ed.

[5] See note (*f*) at end of article.

[6] This is the spelling of the *Brut y Tywysogion* and *Mabinogion* and tallies with the modern Anglicized Monmouthshire pronunciation, *Carleen. Caerleon,* as the name of this place, is believed to be an *English,* not a Welsh, orthography.—Ed.

[7] Supposed (very reasonably) to be so called after *Rhun* ab Maelgwn Gwynedd.—Ed.

[8] Anciently *Caer Swys,* as in Lewis Glyn Cothi's (*Gwaith,* I. iv. 15) "Dwy Bowys a Chaer Swys wen."—Ed.

[9] The form given by Ptolemy for 'Carmarthen' is *Maridunon.* The *Ridumo* of the *Peutinger Table,* which answers in position to *Seaton* in Devonshire, has been taken to stand for *Ridunio* and that for *Moridunio,* supposed to occur in a half-translated form in the modern name. Such forms as the prototypes of Welsh *môr,* Ir. *muir,* genitive *mara,* and the Latin *mare* might be easily confused by classical geographers.—Ed.

entirely forgotten, until it became possible to connect the name of the spot with that of the great enchanter of Celtic story, and it was accordingly altered to *Caer-fyrddin*.[10]

So among the Irish Celts, *dún* seems to have been the earlier form, and *cathair* a new one, denoting something different: this at any rate is the conclusion suggested by such forms as *Cathair duna iascaigh*[1] (Joyce: *Irish Names of Places*, First Series, 4th edition, 1875, p. 284). Once introduced, *caer* seems to have rapidly spread: as *cathair* (modern *cahir*) it is common in Ireland: *ker* is the ordinary Breton word for a house or village: such names as *Carvean, Carcurrian, Carwythenick, Cargerrack*, and *Carzantick* testify to its extension over Cornwall,[2] while *Carlisle*[3] shows that in Cumbria the same custom prevailed as in Wales of styling a Roman station *caer*. We have in this region the same element in other place-names, such as *Carstairs, Carluke*,[4] and *Carriden*.[5] *Caer* thus appears to be a late word, originally differing in meaning from *dinas*, and marking some change in the ancient British manner of living. The precise character of this change it is very difficult to determine. Little help is afforded by the derivation of the word, for *caer* seems, like *dinas*, to have originally denoted an enclosure. In spite of the connection with Roman sites, the derivation from Lat. *castra*, which some have suggested, is hardly tenable:[6] *caer* is rather a native word, a derivative of '*cae-u*,' to enclose, with which '*cae*' = in old Welsh 'a hedge, barrier, or circlet,' is also connected. In a similar way from *arc-eo*, 'to restrain, confine,' the

[10] See note (*n*) at end of article.

[1] The Irish name of *Caher* in Tipperary.—Ed.

[2] The commonness of *car-* in Cornwall, and its occurrence in places where there seem never to have been forts, suggest that it had come to mean in Cornish 'a house or village,' just like *ker* in Breton.—Ed.

[3] See note (*o*) at end of article. [4] See note (*p*) at end of article.

[5] See note (*q*) at end of article. [6] See note (*r*) at end of article.

Romans had *arx*, a fortress or *caer*. In some parts of Cardiganshire, I am told, *caerau* is occasionally used for *caeau*, fields[7]: the use of *caer y fynwent* in the sense of the churchyard wall, and of *caerau* in the sense of battlements, confirms one in the supposition that *caer* means an enclosed stronghold. But what was the mark of a *caer* as distinguished from a *dinas?* The only answer I can offer is that a *caer* was a permanently inhabited stronghold, whereas the *dinas* never seems on this side of the Channel to have denoted more than a mere camp of refuge.[8] Such is the conclusion suggested by the Breton use of *ker* for a village, and the application of the term to Roman stations.

CASTELL is considerably simpler to deal with. The Latin *castellum*, a diminutive of *castrum*, denoted 'a bastion, tower, or small fortification.' Adopted by the Welsh in the form *castell*, it was applied by them to a smaller type of stronghold than the primitive *caer* or *din*. Especially was it used to denote the fortified residences of the tribal chieftains who seem to have been everywhere in Britain the political successors of the Romans. These *castells* were usually of limited area, and in later ages often had walls of stone: such were *Castell Deganwy*, *Castell Dolwyddelan*, *Castell Dolbadarn*, and *Castell y Bere* near Towyn. The name was still retained as the castle grew under Norman hands into a very ambitious structure: after the substantial castles of the Lords Marchers came in due course the magnificent Edwardian castles, the stately towers of Harlech and Car-

[7] This use of *caerau* is found in one of Lewis Morris' poems in *Diddanwch Teuluaidd* (London, 1763), p. 199 (at p. 229 of the Carnarvon edition of 1817):

Fe redai 'r Bugail digllon,
Heb geisio Pont ar Afon;
Ac wrth ei bwys y crynnai 'r llawr,
Trwy *gaerau* mawr Tregaron.

—Ed.

[8] See note (*s*) at end of article.

narvon. *Castell* had become by this time a general name for 'fortress,' driving out both *dinas* and *caer*, and thus we find it applied, though most inappropriately, to the hill-fortresses of the primitive period. *Cefn y Castell*, near Breiddin Hill, and *Pen y Castell*, between Llanidloes and Llawr y Glyn, are instances of this misapplication. It follows that the name *castell*, unlike that of *dinas*, never affords by itself any clue to the character of the stronghold of which it is the name.[9]

A most important element in Welsh place-names is *TREF*. In modern Welsh *tref* is 'town,' but such a form as *tref ddegwm* for a township ought at once to suggest, what is as certain as anything can be, that *tref* has gone through the same change of meaning as *town* itself, and meant originally a village settlement. Only thus can we explain the profusion of *Tref*-names which greet us wherever we turn in the map of Wales, and the fact that nowhere do we find the form *Y Dref*, indicating that the object described was unique in that neighbourhood, but always forms like *Tre-helyg*, *Tre-iorwerth*, *Uchel-dre*, *Tref-eglwys*, which imply that *trefs* were many and contiguous, and so had to be distinguished. *Tref*, in fact, was the equivalent in meaning of the Old English *-ham* and *-ton*, the Danish *-by*, the *villa* of the Middle Ages: it was the hamlet of kindred, dwelling together in a group of huts, perhaps at first in a single house, protected by a ring fence and tilling the lands and ranging the meadows and pastures around. The late Mr. Hubert Lewis, in his book on *The Ancient Laws of Wales*, has very carefully investigated the origin of the *tref* as a form of social organization: he connects the word with the Latin *tribus*,[1] and takes it to have signified, first a joint family, held together until the fourth generation from a

[9] See note (*t*) at end of article. [1] See note (*u*) at end of article.

common ancestor, then the rights and privileges attaching to membership of such a joint family—a usage seen in *treftad*, i.e., '*tref* or privileges or inheritance by right of one's father'—then the hamlet occupied by the joint family, remaining a compact settlement even after by process of time more than one joint family, one *tref* in the eye of the law, or one *gwely* in later language, had sprung up within it. A good deal of obscurity still hangs about the relation of the personal *tref* or joint family to the local *tref* or village: but the existence of the latter under the name *tref* is undeniable, and is the only point about which we need trouble at present. Whatever the real origin of the *cantref*, it is clear that, like the English *Hundred*, it was popularly supposed to be a collection of one hundred *trefs*, which must therefore, taking into consideration the size of the *cantref*, have been village settlements.[2] Passages in the Welsh Laws show that the *trefgordd* or '*tref* inclosure' (the older and more accurate expression for the local *tref*) had only one herdsman, one bull, and one herd attached to it: so that it must have been a mere hamlet. What is said as to house-burning in the Laws shows that in a *tref*, as in a modern village, the houses of different owners were grouped together in close proximity, so that a fire in one might easily pass to those on either side. Moreover the Dimetian Code says, "Let the first house burnt in the *tref* through negligence pay for the first two houses which shall take fire on that account, *one on each side*."[3] It would seem, therefore, that the houses of the *tref* were arranged, not in a cluster, but side by side in one long street, like the primitive huts of the Skye crofters. Supposing this to have been the usual arrangement in early times, we can under-

[2] See note (*v*) at end of article.

[3] *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, by Aneurin Owen, 8vo. edition, i. 414.

stand how the Latin *vicus*, meaning originally 'a hamlet,' and connected with the Greek οἶκος and English *-wick*, came in towns to mean 'a street.' The fact that people's homes were not scattered over the lands they tilled, but were grouped together for safety in a village settlement or *tref* is further illustrated by the forms *adref, gartref, tua thref*, and *yn nhre'* for 'homewards' and 'at home.' *Tref*, then, in Welsh place-names, is a relic of the village or township stage of civilization which so long prevailed in this country, and which in Wales has only within comparatively recent times given way to the market town, the *llan*, and the farm.

PENTREF has an obscurer history. At present it is the ordinary Welsh word for a village, what in our day answers in external appearance to the Old Welsh *tref*. But the very fact that, in spite of external appearance, the old word *tref* is not used to describe a modern Welsh village, but is only applied to a market town, shows that under the superficial resemblance there is an essential difference. It lies no doubt in this—that a *tref* is an organized community; thus the term was deemed not an unsuitable name for the little market town, with its bye-laws and tolls and officers, but was conceived to have no meaning when applied to the modern village, a cluster of labourers' cottages with no organization whatever. Whatever *pentref* meant in Old Welsh, then, it meant something without organization. Accordingly the name does not once, so far as I am aware, occur in the Welsh Laws: it does not enter into the name of any township mentioned in the *Record of Carnarvon*, and, if it goes to form part of the name of any modern township, this is probably the result of some recent subdivision of an ancient area. I can indeed recall no instance of the occurrence of *pentref* in any ancient Welsh document: if the word (but this is unlikely) was not

unknown in Old Welsh, it must have denoted something quite insignificant, not likely to make its way into literature. It is obviously compounded of *pen* and *tref;* yet the meaning of the compound is not at all clear: it is not 'the chief town,' on the analogy of *pen-hebogydd,* 'the chief falconer'; for in that case, apart from the fact that a *pentref* is a *little tref,* the word would be feminine, as compounded from *tref,* which is a feminine noun. *Pen* is clearly the substantive, and *tref* the adjective element, and the only possible translation seems to be 'town's head' or 'town's end,' just as *Pentir* is 'Land's-end.' *Pentre-felin* is a very common form: of *Tre-felin,* on the other hand, I cannot at present recollect a single example. This is perhaps due to the fact that, as most *trefs* had a mill, it served no purpose to distinguish them by the name of *Tre-felin*—though the early form *Felin-dre* (*Velindra*[4] in Cornwall) suggests that at first, when mills were beginning to supplant the old querns worked by hand, this was not so. But if *Trefelin* was an unsuitable name for an independent township, each *tref* might well call the cluster of huts round its mill, which as standing by the water's edge would not be in the heart of the *tref* itself, *Pentre-felin,* 'the town end (or *pentref*) by the mill.' As to how *pentref* or 'town's end' came originally to mean a distinct cluster of houses, I can only offer this suggestion. The king's villeins, the *taiogiaid y brenin* of the Laws, had separate *trefs* allotted to them, into which no one else might intrude. But the free Cymry of the district, the *breyrs* or *uchelwrs* and their relatives, had, no less than the king, *taiogiaid* or *meibion eillion,* for whom no *trefs* were provided, though we are told in the Laws that they had *tyddyns* or homesteads and arable lands among them. Is it not possible that these *tyddyns* were grouped together at one end of the free *tref* to which they were attached, so as

[4] See note (*w*) at end of article.

to form a 'town-end' or *pentref*, an appendix to the real *tref*, a mere parcel of huts, without organization and without recognized place in the arrangements of the district? The name *pentref* might thus come in time to mean any little unorganized assemblage of dwellings, whether forming a real 'town-end' or not, and finally a village of the modern type.

I pass on to *MAENOR* and *MAENOL*. In the first place, it is to be remarked that, in spite of the superficial resemblance to the English *manor* and French *manoir*, this word is undoubtedly of native origin. *Mainavre* occurs in Domesday as the name of a township in the Welsh district of Archenfield: it could not thus early in the Norman occupation have crept into the language from without.[5] It is a name, moreover, which we find in some form or other throughout Wales, even in the least Normanised districts, such as Anglesey and Carnarvonshire, where it has been laid down as a rule of law that manors, in the English sense of the term, do not exist. *Maenol* is the North Welsh form, *Maenor* that of South Wales, a distinction which is observed also in the different codes in the Welsh Laws. According to the Venedotian Code (that of North-West Wales) the *maenol* is the village settlement which pays one pound annually to the king, i.e., it corresponds to the *tref* of South Wales. But though we are told that there ought to be twenty-four such *maenols* of four *trefs* each and four *trefs* in addition (i.e. fifty *trefs*) in every *cymwd* or half-hundred, we incidentally learn from another passage that there were only nine *maenols* altogether in the important *cantref* of Arfon. Moreover, there were *maenors* as well as *trefs* in South Wales, consisting not of four but of seven or thirteen *trefs*, and these villein-*trefs*. *Maenol Vangor*, too, a North Wales *maenol* mentioned in the *Record of Carnarvon* (p. 95),

[5] See note (*x*) at end of article.

was a cluster of 12 villein-hamlets, such as the South-Welsh codes describe. A notable fact, also, is that wherever *Maenor* or *Maenol* appear as place-names, they appear almost invariably with the article simply, or with an appendant proper name, and not with a qualifying adjective. *Y Faenol, Y Faenor, Manorowen,*[6] *Manorbeer* (which is in Old-Welsh *Mainaur Pyr* or *Byr*), *Maenor Deilo* and *Maner Ieuan* are the characteristic forms. *Vainor ucha* and *Vainor issa* are of course subdivisions of an ancient township of *Vainor: Faenol Fawr* and *Faenol Fach* represent similar divisions of a farm. If, then, we contrast the prevalent *Y Faenor* with the typical *Tre'r Ddôl,* we shall at once see that *maenor* and *tref* cannot be equated, that the *tref* is one of many, so that *Y Dref* is never found, while the *maenor* is an unique feature of the district, so that *Y Faenor* is the commonest form. Rejecting, then, the interpretation of the lawyer who arranged the Venedotian code, that *maenor* is a village settlement, there seems to be strong evidence in favour of the theory propounded in the late Mr. Hubert Lewis's *Ancient Laws of Wales*[7] that the word means (1) the *stone* (*maen*) -built residence of the chieftain of a district, in fact his *castell* or *llys.* This would establish a connection with *manerium* and *manoir,* which at first had the meaning of a principal residence, and only afterwards came to denote the jurisdiction and rights attaching to that residence.[8] (2) Next, *maenor* was used to signify, not only the castle itself, but also the villein-*trefs* or townships attached to it, upon

[6] *Manorowen* seems to be a bastard form. We cannot say when it was invented, but in Fenton's *Pembrokeshire,* p. 4, the place is called *Manarnawan.* Another bastard form is *Manoravon,* near Llandeilo Fawr. This was originally called *Maenorfaban* or *-fabon* ('Mabon's or Maban's *maenor*'), and the last part of it is correctly spelt on monuments in Llandeilo church.—Ed.

[7] P. 141.

[8] See the latter part of note (*x*).

which it depended for its food supplies. This is the use in the South-Welsh codes. (3) Thirdly, the term was extended to include the whole *cymwd*, or district of which the castle was the centre, free as well as bond villages. This seems to be the meaning in the *Mabinogi* of *Math fab Mathonwy*, where a host is said to have taken up its position '*yng nghymherfedd y ddwy faenor*' (the scribe was a South-Welshman, and hence wrote *faenor*, not *faenol*), "*Maenor Penardd a Maenor Coed Alun.*"[9] Penardd, a township near Dinas Dinlle, was, we are told in the Laws, the hereditary seat of a *canghellor*, whose jurisdiction would be the *cymwd* of Arfon uch Gwyrfai. Coed Alun, near Carnarvon (now called corruptly *Coed Helen*),[1] as it certainly was in the *cymwd* of Arfon is Gwyrfai, may well have been the *canghellor-dref* of that *cymwd*: in which case "*y ddwy faenor*" would be the two *cymwds* of Arfon, taking their names in this case, not from the river which divided them, but from their respective *canghellor*-townships.

TYDDYN appears in the older MSS. of the Laws as *tŷgdŷn*, which, as *tig* is the oldest known form of *ty*, point clearly to 'house' as the first element of the word. A distinction is made in the Laws between *tyddyn* and *tref*; and this is borne out by the fact that *tyddyn* does not enter into the name of any ancient township. It is not therefore the enclosure of houses, the protected village, but the single house, a part of the village.[2] According to the Welsh Laws, each co-heir, on the death of the ancestor who held together the family property, was entitled not only to land, but also to a separate *tyddyn*. Thus even in a *tref* consisting of the sons of one man only, there would be on the death of the father many *tyddyns*. But land and *tyddyn* are the

[9] I.e., 'Between the two *Maenors* of Penardd and Coed Alun.'—Rhys and Evans' Oxford *Mabinogion*, p. 63.

[1] See note (*y*) at end of article. [2] See note (*z*) at end of article.

only immovable property specified; the *tyddyn*, therefore, included not only house but out-buildings, barn, cattle-shed, farm-yard, in fact all that was needed for the tillage of the land at the same time acquired. The houses, I have already said, were ranged in a long street: behind each house came the buildings and spaces attached to it, which with the house itself formed a *tyddyn* or homestead. When the necessity for defence passed away, *tyddyns* were erected no longer within the village stockade, but here and there around it, on the land to which they were attached. The necessity for a resharing of the land on the death of the last of a generation made the distribution of *tyddyns* vary from generation to generation, as long as the old Welsh land-laws were observed. These were not annulled by the *Statute of Rhuddlan*, which on the contrary says, "Let inheritances remain partible among co-heirs as hath hitherto been accustomed": consequently until Henry VIII.'s Act of Union repartition went on as before. That Act provided that after the Feast of All Saints, 1535, all lands in Wales should descend 'after the English tenure, without division or partition': primogeniture thus became the ordinary rule of succession, and just as Edward I.'s statute of *Quia Emptores*, by forbidding further subinfeudation, stereotyped the existing manorial divisions in England, so the Act of Union, by forbidding partition, stereotyped the existing divisions of the township in Wales. Each *tyddyn*-allotment of that day passed on as a small estate or farm, and, though enlarged by purchase or curtailed by misfortune, never fell back again into the earlier township. Thus *tyddyn* in modern Welsh means 'a farm,' and such names as *Tyddyn du*, *Tyddyn uchaf*, and *Tyddyn Inco* are found scattered all over the area of a township, and not at its ancient centre, which is generally occupied by a homestead bearing the original name of the *tref*.

When the story of the development of Welsh society has been fully told, much that is now puzzling in the place-names of the country will become as clear as day. I trust, however, that, even with the imperfect light at my command, I have succeeded in making some matters simpler than they have hitherto been for the enquirer unfurnished with a knowledge of Welsh history.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

By the Editor.

(*a*) *Gwy*, 'water,' has no existence in Welsh, we believe,[1] except as a fairly legitimate *inference* from the numerous Welsh river-names ending in *-wy*, anciently written *-gui*, as in *di rit brangui*, occurring in a record of Welsh boundaries written in the "Mercian hand" of King Offa's time on a page of the *Book of St. Chad* at Lichfield. In modern Welsh this would be *i ryd Branwy;* and possibly the South-Welsh river-name *Brân* is a shortening of the longer form *Branwy*. The idea of our average etymological charlatans that the termination *-i*, common in river-names, is a corruption of *-wy* (which idea causes *Llyfni* to be written *Llyfnwy* by self-styled *llenorion*) has no foundation whatever outside the minds of those artists, who, like the poor, are always with us in Wales. On the contrary, wherever we find mentioned either in the *Liber Landavensis* or in still earlier documents (e.g., in Harl. MS. 3859, printed in *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 183, col. 1, where the river *Teifi* is called *Tebi;* and in Nennius, § 47, in the same MS., *Teibi*) a still-existing river-name in *-i*, it is always spelt with *-i*, and never with *-ui* or *-gui*, as a termination.

The word *gwy* or *wy*, 'water,' is supposed to occur in Cornish in *Beunans Meriasek*, ll. 3952-3, where the dragon of the story is said to be *in agen meske ov scumbla avel wy*, 'dunging amongst us like *water*' (but it has here been pointed out to us that *wy* may equally well mean 'an egg'); and we believe that the Cornish place-names *Melingy*, *Melangye*, *Belingey*, have been thought to contain the

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[1] The word *wy* in *Marwnat Corroi M. Dayry* (Skene's *Four Books*, ii. 198) is translated 'stream' in *op. cit.*, i. 254; but the line is imperfect in the text, and the rest of the translation thereof will not bear criticism.

element *gwy*, and to answer in sense to the Welsh place-name *Melinddwr*.

There is some evidence besides such forms as *Eboith*, *Ebowith*, *Ebouith* in Leland's *Itinerary* (ed. 1769), iv., part 1, fos. 52-3, and vi., fo. 24, and elsewhere (*Ebod* in *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 148, which here correctly gives the reading of the MS.), the ancient names of the river now called *Ebbw* or *Ebwy*, that these river-names in *-wy* were anciently also written with a final *-dd*; for in the *Book of Taliessin* we have (Skene's *Four Books*, ii. 131):

"Am wyth am edrywyth
Am doleu dynwedyd";

which seems to mean 'About the Gwydd (or Gwyth), about the Edrywyth, about the meadows of Dinwedydd.' Here *Edrywyth* must, on account of the rhyme, stand for *Edrywydd*, and this name seems identical with the *Edrywy* which gave its name to the *Traeth Edrywy* (see note (*f*), *infra*) and *Carreg Edrywy* at the mouth of the river Nevern (Pembrokeshire), mentioned in Lewis Morris' *Celtic Remains*;[2] see also the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, fos. 24[a], 34[b] top (Skene's *Four Books*, ii. 17 bottom and 33 top), and the *Book of Taliessin* (Skene, ii. 144). There is also a river *Trywi* or *Drywi* (so pronounced, not *Drowy*, as in the Ordnance Map) which falls over the cliff between Hen Fynyw and Llan Ina (Cardiganshire), and may stand for *Afon Edrywy*, corrupted into *Afon Drywi*.

Can *Gwyth* or *Gwydd* in the passage quoted mean the Wye?[3] It should be added that Canon Robert Williams translated the two lines cited (Skene, i. 527) 'About wrath, about the resolvent, about the man describing windings,' whatever this may mean; probably it meant less to the "translator" even than it does to us.

(*b*) There is, by the way, no evidence whatever that the form *Cynwy* ever existed. The name is invariably *Conwy* (*Conguoy*, *Annales Cambriæ* from Harl. MS. 3859, in *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 166, col. 2) both in old MSS. and in modern pronunciation; and in the times of the Romans the forms were *Conovium* and *Canorium*. The form *Cynwy* was invented by the charlatans in order to make the first syllable of the word *Conwy* come by main force from *cyn-* in the sense of 'first,' 'primitive' (= German *ur-*), or 'primary.' The English countryman may of course in some particulars lag far behind his more highly illumined Welsh neighbour; but in our backward Eng-

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S. vv. Edrywi, Traeth Edrywi. See also his *Harbour Charts.*

[3] In the *Wigmore Chartulary, apud* Dugdale's *Monasticon* (1825), vi. 354[b], we have the form *Glendortewyth* for *Glyndyfrdwy*.

land we don't as a rule derive the names of all our greatest rivers by main force from Anglo-Saxon! Do our Welsh "etymologists" (of the kind alluded to by Professor Lloyd) really suppose that Welsh-speaking people were the aborigines of Wales, any more than Anglo-Saxon speaking people were the aborigines of England? When (if ever) these ingenious persons have assimilated the results of modern ethnological research, and also the fact that of all place-names river-names are the most permanent and the least apt to be displaced by conquering invaders, they will then perhaps cease deriving *Dyfi* from *Dof-wy*, *Dysyni* from *Di-swn-wy*, or *Ogwy* from *Eog-wy*; *Ogwy* being itself a form which has no more existence than *Cynwy*, being simply manufactured by some person who takes an *intelligent interest* in the place-names of his country out of the real name *Ogwr*, which stands for * *Ogwyr*, * *Ogfur*, in Old-Welsh *Ocmur* (*Lib. Land.*, p. 204), whence the English name of the river, *Ogmore*.

(*c*) In *unenclosed* mountain land, we believe that *cóch* generally refers to the reddish-brown colour produced by the withered bracken for more than half the year. The pale colour of withered grass we believe was generally designated *melyn* or 'yellow', as in *Ysgol* (or *Ystol*) *felen*, the name for the very precipitous slope of the Glyder Fawr which looks towards the vale of Llanberis. *Du*, 'black,' is largely applied to tracts covered with heather (as in *Llethr Du*, near Llangammarch, *Craig Ddu*, near Llanbrynmair), black being the fundamental colour of masses of heather, as seen at a distance, for the greater part of the year.

(*d*) By the first bridge over the Snowdon Llugwy above Rhaiadr y Wennol (called in English the Swallow Falls) is (or was in 1882) a cottage built in a very original style of masonry. This is called *Ty hyll*, 'the ugly house,' and the bridge by it *Pont ty hyll*. Of course such a name, if conferred at the present day in that naturally beautiful part of the country, would entirely fail in distinctiveness; for there almost every new house, large or small, vies with its fellow in mean or vulgar ugliness.

(*e*) Old Welsh names of *Caerau* or *Dinesydd* (like the infinitely better preserved Irish ones) were generally associated by history, tradition, or legend, with the memory of some personage, people, or event, e.g., *Dincadfael* in Llannefydd, *Caer Rein* in Archenfield (now Aconbury in Herefordshire), *Caer Rhun*, (*Caer*) *Deganwy* from the *Decantæ*, and *Dinorwig* (anciently *Dinorddeg*, *Dinorddwig*) from the *Ordovices*. The reason why we have not more of these interesting names on record, and why Wales so swarms with bald uninteresting names such as *Caer*, *Dinas*, *Y Gaer*, and the like (mostly curtailed from longer and distinctive ones) is that the Welsh have been as care-

less as the Irish have been careful in preserving their really old legends, traditions, and history, both in writing and in oral *llafar gwlad.*

Occasionally we find appended to *Din-* the name of the river on which the particular *din* was situate; as in *Din Ieithon*, a fortress on the Ithon in Maelienydd (now in Radnorshire), which is mentioned more than once in the Wigmore Chartulary, as quoted in Dugdale's *Monasticon*,[4] and which also gave its name to a commote *Swydd Dinieithon*, whose name is generally corruptly written in the old lists of the Cantrefs and Commotes of Wales (see the last line of *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 328, and Leland's *Itinerary*, 1769, vol. v., fo. 17). Another instance of such a name is found in *Din Tywi*, a place somewhere on the Towy, mentioned in *Kulhwch ac Olwen* (Oxford *Mabinogion*, p. 140, l. 3). We are not at present in a position to fix the situation either of Din Ieithon or Din Tywi.

(*f*) So *Gelli Ganddryll* (see Jones' *Brecknockshire*, ii. 390), in Latin *Sepes Inscissa* (Walter Map's *De Nugis Curialium*, § 26, p. 103), is now called *Y Gelli* in Welsh, *The Hay* in English, and in official English *Hay*. *Trefdraeth* in North Pembrokeshire, called in English Newport, seems to be short for *Tref Draeth Edrywy*, that being, according to Lewis Morris, the name of the neighbouring *traeth* at the mouth of the river Nevern. (See note (*a*) *supra*). *Caer yn Arfon* (Carnarvon), as pointed out by Professor Rhys in his *Hibbert Lectures* (1886), p. 272, note, must be short for *Caer Seint yn Arfon*, the old name, occurring in the *Mabinogi* of *Branwen ferch Lŷr* (Oxford Edition, p. 34, l. 23). And it appears from Lewis Morris' *Celtic Remains*, *s.v.*, that *Garth Branan* is the old name of the place now called *Garth*, close to Bangor.

Trallwm (the Welsh name of Welshpool) is short for *Trallwng Llywelyn* or *Trallwm Côch ym Mhowys;* the former name being the old literary name, derived from its patron Saint, the latter (we are told by Canon Silvan Evans) the modern popular name, also occurring in pedigrees, and once heard by ourselves in a folk-tale from Cilcwm, near Llandovery, according to which a dog went into one of the Roman miners' caves at Gogofau in Cynwyl Caeo, and emerged *hairless* out of the ground near "Trallwm Côch in Powys"; of the identity of which spot, however, our informant was as ignorant as we then were ourselves. *Trallwm*, by the way, means, or very lately meant, in Glamorganshire (see Lewis Morris' *Celtic Remains*, *s.v.*) 'a quagmire': a *Trallwng Tewdws* is mentioned in the *Liber Landavensis*,[5] *Trallwng Cynfyn* (now Trallwng, west of Brecon) in

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[4] Ed. 1825, vi. 349, where it is spelt *Dinyeytha*.

[5] Spelt *Tralucg Teudus;* see p. 211.

Myv. Arch. i. 271, col. 2, and *Trallwng Elgan* in *Brut y Tywysogion*, p. 274; the word also occurs in place-names in Radnorshire, Glamorganshire, and Carmarthenshire, and probably elsewhere.

(*g*) *Wentloog* is the modern Anglicized form now in common use for the district, or some part of it. We do not know that it *necessarily* has been produced under the *sole* influence of the name *Gwent*, for both *Gwynllywg* and *Gwynllyw* were anciently written with a *d* (*gwyn* 'white' is for *gwynn*, older *guind* = Irish *find*), as is shown clearly enough by the forms *Gundleus* for the man, and *Gundliauc* for the country, common in the Lives of St. Gwynllyw and his son St. Cadoc. (See for instance the latter in *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 22, 24; forms answering both to *Gwynllyog* and to *Gwynllywg* occur in those two Lives, but are frequently distorted in the printed edition).

The form *Gwaunllwg* turns out to be older than we supposed when we wrote note 3 on p. 118 of vol. vii. of *Y Cymmrodor;* for it occurs in a MS. written by Roger Morris of Coed y Talwrn in 1572, now belonging to Canon Silvan Evans, in the pedigrees which occur at fo. 43ª of that MS.

In a paper read by Mr. C. O. S. Morgan at the Newport meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Association in August, 1885, and subsequently printed in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for October of that year, a truly marvellous explanation of the word *Gwentloog* was proposed (pp. 258-9). Mr. Morgan there adopts the form *Wentllwch*, a mere corruption of such forms as the *Gunlyuch* of *Lib. Land.*, p. 237, where the *-ch* is of course only another way of writing *-c* (now *-g*), very common in the orthography of the 12th century; and he then proceeds to explain this *Wentllwch* as meaning 'Gwent of the *Llwch* or lake,' and asserts that this was the name of the third division of Gwent, the other two being of course Gwent Is Coed and Gwent Uwch Coed!

At p. 261 we are condescendingly informed by Mr. Morgan that "Gwynllyw has been said to have given the name to this part of the country, which has sometimes been called Gwynllwg, but [*sic!* this is not English, but never mind!] which has no meaning;" and on p. 260 (there is some repetition in Mr. Morgan's article) that "St. Gwynllyw has been said to have given his name to the district; but it is not found so written, and the origin of the name *Gwentllwch* or *Wentllwch* is more probable, intelligible, and satisfactory." In reply to which it will be sufficient to say (1) that *Gwynllywg* (and likewise its sister-form, now obsolete, *Gwynllyawg* or *Gwynllyog*) is so written in its Old- and Middle-Welsh forms over and over again in the Lives of the Welsh Saints; (2) that not once in those documents, in the *Annales Cambriæ*, the *Liber Landavensis*, or any old MSS., is

it spelt with *Guent-* or *Went-*, but always with a first syllable which answers to the modern *Gwyn-* or *Gwn-*, the oldest known form being *Guinnliguiauc* in the *Annales Cambriæ* (see *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 167, col. 1); (3) that so far from *Gwynllywg* having no meaning, it means 'Gwynllyw's land', just as *Morganwg* means Morgan's, or *Seissyllwg* Seissyll's, or *Rhiellwg* Rhiell's, lands respectively; and (4) that *Gwynllywg* ever ended (as *llwch* 'a lake, pool, morass' certainly does and always did) in a phonetic *-ch* is shown to be utterly impossible by the occurrence of *Gwynllywg* in the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, fo. 33ᵃ (Skene's *Four Books*, ii. 30), in the form (*o*) *winllyuc*, rhyming with *kywluc* and *egluc*, which are in modern Welsh *kyflwg* and *eglwg*.

Another absurdity of Mr. Morgan's derivation is that Wentloog was never in Gwent at all, but first in Glywyssing, and subsequently in Morganwg, Gwent ending at the mouth of the river Usk, not (as Monmouthshire does) at that of the Rumney. In the same paper (p. 259) occurs a brilliant *pendant* to the above exquisite piece of etymology; *Teyrnllwch*, an assumed form of *Teyrnllwg*, the epithet of the first Cadell of Powys, being there explained as meaning *Teyrn llwch*, 'the king of the lake'!! (On *Teyrnllwg* see *Y Cymmrodor*, vii. 119, ix. 179.)

As to 'the three Gwents' (those of history, not of Mr. C. O. S. Morgan), they are mentioned in l. 17 of a poem printed in *Y Cymmrodor*, x. 236, and 'the two Gwents' at l. 13 of the same poem. The third was *Gwent Ganol*, or Middle Gwent, mentioned in Roger Morris' pedigrees above cited, and in Leland's *Itinerary*, ed. 1769, vol. v., fos. 5, 6. At fo. 6 occurs the following passage, which shows that the form *Wentloog* is older than Leland's time: "But this great Lordship, as the Walsch-men say, ys no part of the iii. Vencelandes. Yet it is cawlled in Walsch *Guentluge* (al. *Guenthloge*)." From which it is obvious that the *Walschmen* of Leland's day were better instructed on such matters than are their descendants.

(*h*) In Professor Rhys' *Celtic Britain*, 2nd ed., p. 302, *Dinorwig* is explained as standing for an older *Din-orddwig*, meaning 'Fort of the Ordovices.' But no older instance of the last-named form could be cited there than from Duppa's *Johnson's Tour in North Wales*, p. 198. We have now found evidence that a similar form was in use in about 1600, for at fo. 78ᵃ of a MS. written about that date, once belonging to Dr. Griffith Roberts of Dolgelly, and now to Mr. Bosanquet of Dingestow, the place is called *Dinas Dynorddeg*.

(*i*) But if two *brooks* meet, one of longer, the other of markedly shorter course, it would not be inappropriate to call one *Hirnant*, the other *Byrnant*. The comparative size of confluent streams is a fact that *saute aux yeux* nearly as much as the comparative size of confluent

valleys. As to *nant*, the general rule in Wales is that in northernmost Wales (in parts of which *aber* is used for 'a brook') *nant* is masculine, and means 'a valley or dingle,' whilst in South and Central Wales (as in the Vale of Dovey and at Dolgelly) it is feminine, and means 'a brook.' In *Endlicher's Gaulish Glossary*, of the 9th century (printed in Stokes' *Cornish Glossary, &c.*), *nanto* is glossed '*valle*,' and so is *nans* in the *Cornish Vocabulary;* and yet in Savoy, where the word survives in place-names, it means 'a mountain-torrent,' as in the *Nant Noir* near Servoz, and another near Trient; the *Nant Dant* near Samoens; the *Bon Nant* at St. Gervais; the *Nant Borant* (or *Bourant*) near Contamines; the *Nant d'Arpenaz* near Sallanches; the *Grand Nant* near Chamouni; and the villages of *Nant Bride* near Sixt. There is also a *Nant Brun* in the Tarentaise, and on it a place called *Deux Nants* where another brook joins it. We note in the French edition of Bædeker's *Suisse* (1869, p. 217) an exquisite derivation of *Nant*, viz., from the Latin *natare* 'to swim'!

Curiously enough the word *nant* does not seem known in Breton; though we believe it occurs in *Fouesnant*, a *chef-lieu de canton* near Quimper; but it is at least very rare in Breton place-names. It seems to occur in the name of a once well-known religious establishment in the Cotentin, where it would more probably come from the ancient Gaulish than from Old-Breton. *Nant* certainly occurs in the old name of the town of *Nantua*, in the Jura.

(*j*) *Dinas* is used in parts of Wales simply to designate a commanding position which was never fortified. It is thus used in the Llanberis valley, where at least one high hill, isolated from the main chains of mountains, is called *Dinas;* and one of the most precipitous escarpments of the Llanberis Pass (just above the entrance to Cwm Glâs) is called *Dinas Mot*. Similarly the steep hill behind Pen y Bont in the upper Irfon valley is called *Dinas Bach*, to distinguish it from the better known *Dinas* hill lower down the valley, near Llanwrtyd church. In the upper valley of the Towy and in those of its upper tributaries are several commanding, often isolated, hills called *Dinas*, none of them, it is believed, bearing any traces of fortification. It should here be noted that *Dinas* is masculine in South Wales place-names; and *Din* was also once of common gender, as is shown by the name *Dinmael*, which would be *Dinfael* if *Din* had there been feminine. The reason of these variations of gender is no doubt to be found in the original neuter gender of *dunon*.

Professor Rhys supposes the *-as* of *Dinas* to be the same as the *-es* in *llynghes* 'a navy,' which in Irish is *longes* and *longas*, meaning 'a voyage' (generally, 'a voyage to banishment'). The same termination is found in Gaelic *camas*, 'a bay, creek, the space between

the thighs' (from *cam*), which in the North of Ireland[6] (and we think in the Highlands) is *Camus*, in Lowland Scotland *Cambus*, in place-names; in Welsh place-names this is *Cemais*, pronounced *Cemmes*, which gives name to a hundred of Pembrokeshire, a little port in Anglesey (anciently called Porth Wygyr, from the Gwygyr brook, which there joins the sea), a parish on the Dovey, two on the Usk, and places on or near the Dysynni in Merionethshire and the Afon Lwyd in Monmouthshire. Possibly *Cemais* is also to be found in *Cabus*, on the serpentine Wyre in Lancashire, and probably (in a very old Welsh form) in *Camboise* Bay in Northumberland.

It may be as well to point out here that the spelling *Cemmaes* or *Cemaes* is not genuine, but the invention of some latter-day etymological triflers who derived it from *Camp-maes* 'a play-field' (*camp*, by the way, is a loan-word from English !), or from some compound of *maes;* that the word cannot possibly contain the element *maes* is sufficiently proved by the fact that if it were so derived it would necessarily be written *-mais* in Old-Welsh and *-maes* in Middle Welsh documents, whereas it is in both always spelt *-meis* or *-meys*, which in modern Welsh necessarily becomes *mais*, not *maes*. Thomas Williams of Trefriw and Lewis Dwnn spell the word correctly *Kemais* or *Cemais*.

The same suffix also occurs in *branes*, 'a host of crows' (*branhes*, *Iarlles y Ffynnon* in *Mabinogion*, Oxford Edition, p. 192), which seems identical with the place-name *Branas* in Edernion.

Besides *dinas*, there was a form *dinis* prevalent in Cornwall (where *dinas* is also found) and in Cumbria. Instances in Cornwall are found at *Pendennis*, near Falmouth, and in the forms given by Hals of the names of the places now in books and on maps called *Castle an Dinas*, e.g., "*Castle an Dunes* or *Denis*" in Towednack (see

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[6] In Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, written in the seventh century, mention is made of *Cambas* on the Bann, two miles above Coleraine, afterwards well known as *Cammas Comghaill*. This gave name to a parish called *Camus juxta Bann*, to distinguish it from another in Tyrone, *Camus juxta Mourne*. There is also a spot on the Suir, two miles N.W. of Cashel, where there was a ford called *Ath-an-chamais*, or 'the ford of the bend,' now replaced by *Camus* Bridge. (See Reeves' *Adamnan*, pp. 96-7; Joyce's *Irish Place-names*, Second Series (1875), p. 398.) Adamnan also mentions (p. 133) an *Ait chambas* in Ardnamurchan, in Western Scotland; and various modern names in the same district, containing the same element, are there given in a note.

Davies Gilbert's *Parochial History of Cornwall*, iv. 53), and *Castle Denis* for the well-known fort near St. Columb (*ib.*, i. 220; called *Castel an Dynas* in *Beunans Meriasek*, l. 2210). Bannister also gives in his *Glossary of Cornish Names Dennis Eia* ('St. Ie's or Ive's Dinas'), obviously meant for the spot called *Pendinas* at St. Ives.[7] In South-East Scotland the forms *Dennis* and *Tinnis* occur in the valley of the Tweed and elsewhere.

Whether this form is found in "bedin *dinus*" (*Gododin* in Skene's *Four Books*, ii. 86) we will not undertake to say.

(*k*) Besides Dinas *Dinlle*, which is undoubtedly for *Din Lleu*, there is a *Dinlle Ureconn* mentioned in the well-known poem relating to the destruction of Vriconium in the *Red Book of Hergest* (Skene's *Four Books*, ii. 288). There seems every reason for identifying it with the camp at the summit of the *Wrekin*, which probably is simply the Welsh name *Dinlle Wrygon* in a shortened form. We do not think with Professor Rhys (*Celtic Britain*, 2nd ed., p. 314) that *Dinlle* here stands for *Din Lleu*, but rather that it is from *din* and *lle*, and to be compared with the curious word *Penlle* existing only (we believe) in place-names in Welsh Gower, where we have *Penlle 'r Gaer* (barbarously spelt *Penllergare*) and also a site of an old church called *Penlle 'r Eglwys*[8] near Ynys-penllwch; it is not wholly impossible that we have this word in *Pendle* Hill in Lancashire, unless that stands rather for *Penllech*, which we suspect it may do.

(*l*) The earliest mention of Dinefwr is in the boundaries of Llandeilo Fawr in the *Liber Landavensis*, p. 75 (also in Cott., Vespasian, A. xiv., fo. 58[b]), where it is called *gueith tineuur*, the word *gwaith* here apparently meaning a fort or its earthworks. Of course *Dinefwr* is to be analysed into *Din-efwr;* and it is always so spelt in all documents and so pronounced in the neighbourhood. The charlatans' orthography, invented by themselves, used to be *Dinefawr* or the like, and their "derivation" of the word (it is believed) from *Din Fawr!* It will hardly be credited that the bastard form *Dynevawr* is gravely adopted by M. Loth in his *Mabinogion*, vol. i., p. 122, note 2.

Din-efwr seems to bear exactly the same relation to *Eburo-dunum* (now *Yverdun*,[9] near the southern end of the Lake of Neuchâtel) as *Din-lleu* does to *Lugu-dunum*. With regard to *Efwr* (in Old-Welsh

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[7] See Leland's *Itinerary*, ed. 1769, vol. iii., fos. 7, 8.

[8] There is also a farm of the same name not far from Llandebie, in the parish of Bettws; and a *Penlle'r Brain* near Swansea.

[9] Also called *Yverdon*.

Ebur) it seems to occur as a man's name (1) in the case of *Eborius* or *Eburius*, the Bishop of York present at the Council of Arles in 314; (2) in the case of *Ebur*, the Bishop of Munster, whose death is mentioned in *Annales Cambriæ* under the year 501 (see *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 153), and in the Irish Annals; (3) in one of the extracts from the poems relating to the Sons of Llywarch Hên, preserved in the *Black Book of Carmarthen* (fo. 54[a], printed in Skene's *Four Books*, ii. 61), where *llv ewur lluydon* 'the army of *Efwr* Llwydon' is mentioned. Here the dividing-mark between *llv* and *ewur* in the MS., which makes them into separate words, has of course been neglected by Mr. Skene, who prints *llvewur*.

Efwr occurs in composition in the name of the *Eburovices*, now represented by *Evreux;* probably the first element of this compound was derived from the old form of the neighbouring river *Eure*.

From the old form *Ebor* was, by aid of the common suffix *-ācum* (later *-awc*, *-og*), formed *Eboracum*, in Old-Welsh *Cair Ebroauc* (for an older **Eborauc*), shortened in the more modern form of the *Catalogue of Cities* (printed in *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 183) into *Cair Ebrauc*, whence the modern Welsh for *York*, *Caer Efrog*. There seems little doubt that the original name was formed from the river-name which has now become *Ure* (for an older *Yor-*, occurring in *Jor-vaulx*, now *Jer-vaulx*); the *Ure* now only retains its name as far as its confluence with the Swale, the united stream, on which York stands, being now called *Ouse*, an English name which has doubtless supplanted the earlier Celtic one.

Ebur- also occurs in *Eburo-briga*, a town on the Armance, not far from Auxerre; *Eburo-britium*, a town in Lusitania; *Eburones*, a tribe in what is now Rhenish Prussia; and probably in the 5 places in Spain or Portugal, once called *Ebura*, *Ebora*, or Ἐβοῦρα, one of which is now *Evora*. The names *Hebro-magus* and *Ebro-dunum* (now *Embrun*), if these orthographies are correct, seem to come from a different source.

It should be noted that the Carmarthenshire word for a wild parsnip (still in use near Llandovery) is *efwr;* but it is hardly likely that this word gave its name to *Dinefwr*. The form *Dynevor* (with the accent on the first syllable) is of course a mere English barbarism; and the application of the name "*Dynevor* Castle" to the *residence* now so called is a modernism, that mansion having been till recently called *Newton* in English, and *Drenewydd* (still in common use in the neighbourhood) in Welsh.

With regard to *Efrog*, one of Geoffrey of Monmouth's mythical kings, who is also made the father of Peredur (= Perceval) in the Welsh Romance (but *not* in the French and German ones, some of

which make him son of *Bliocadrans* or *Gahmuret* = the Welsh **Bledcabrat*, **Cabret* = the modern *Bleddgwryd*, or *Blegwryd*, and *Cywryd*, or *Cowryd*, respectively; see note 1 on p. 219 of *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. x.), we believe him to be a mere *eponymus* from the name of the city of *Caer Efrog*, like *Lleon Gawr* from *Caerlleon* (Chester) and *Myrddin* from *Caerfyrddin* (see note (*n*), *infra*). With regard to the legend connecting Geoffrey of Monmouth's mythical king Peredur with Pickering in Yorkshire, we have not been able to trace it back beyond 15th-century chroniclers *à la* Geoffrey of Monmouth; we think Rous of Warwick mentions it. It is worth noticing that among the twenty sons of Geoffrey's king *Ebraucus* (ii. 8) there is no Peredur; whilst Geoffrey's Peredur is son of one *Morvidus* (probably = *Merwydd*, not *Morfydd*), but his family is connected with York (iii. 15—18).

(*m*) There was also a widely distributed diminutive form *dinan* (compare *castellan* in note (*t*), *infra*), apt to become *Dinam* or *Dinham* in place-names. In Cornwall we have the tautological form *Cardinham*, anciently called *Cardinan*, and in the Romances (in which it is named as a place where King Arthur held his court [1]) *Caradignan*, *Caradigan*, or the like, forms which our sapient commentators have conceived to stand for *Cardigan*, which before the Normans was no more the name of one particular spot than 'Oxfordshire' is now. In Brittany the name is probably found in the town of *Dinan*. In Wales it occurs as *Dinham* (anciently *Castell Dinan*,[2] *Lib. Land.*, 32, 43) in Monmouthshire, as *Dinam* in Anglesey, in *Llysdinam* in Breconshire (so called from the *dinan* which gave its name to *Swydd Dinan*, one of the three Commotes of the Cantref of Buallt), in *Mandinam* on a hill near Llangadock, and probably in *Llandinam* in Montgomeryshire. *Dinan* was also the ancient name of Ludlow or its castle, still preserved in a place there now called *Dinham*. A place called *Dinan* also gives its name to a township and to a spot

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[1] It is thus mentioned in Chrestien de Troyes' *Erec*, quoted in Lady Charlotte Guest's *Mabinogion*, ii. 179 (cf. 182); and also in the *Roman de Fregus et de Galienne*, cited in the same place. It is there called *Caradignan*, but in Chrestien's *Perceval Le Gallois*, ll. 24,604, 33,621, *Caradigan*; *Baradugan*, *ib.*, l. 28,876, is probably meant for the same place.

[2] There is also a *Cestill Dinan* named in the boundaries of Llangadwaladr (Bishopston or Bishton near Caerleon) in *L.L.*, 173, which cannot be the same place; possibly a trace of the name remains in "Bishton *Castle* Farm."

known as *Craig Ddinan* in Llandrillo yn Edernion, and there is a *Melin Caerddinan* in Diserth, Flintshire. We see that there are at least three more places called by the name in Cornwall, viz., *Dynham* in St. Minver, *Dinham* Bridge in St. Kew, and *Tredenham* near Grampound (see note 4 on p. 24, *supra*); and in Brittany there is "a Roman camp called *Castel Dinam*, in the parish of Plouigneau," Finistère. (See Joanne's *Bretagne*, ed. 1880, p. 106.)

Another word derived from *Din* is *Llysdin* or *Llystin;* whether the *llys* in this compound bore its Welsh sense of 'a court or palace' or the sense of the corresponding Irish word *lios* 'a fort', we cannot say. *Llystin* occurs in *Llystin Wennan* (or *Wynnan;* it is a man's or woman's name) well known from the *Bonedd y Saint* (*s.v. Elhaearn*) as the ancient seat of the Powysian tribe of Cyndrwynin, and also often mentioned in old records; it was situated somewhere in Caereinion, but whether the *Caer* of this word and the *Llystin* were different names for one and the same place we do not know. There is also a township of Cilcain in Flintshire, whose correct name would appear to have been *Llystin Hunydd* (the last word is a well-known woman's name); it is called *Llysdianhunedd* in Thomas' *St. Asaph*, p. 458, *Lesthunied* in *Domesday Book*, and *Llystynhynedd* in the marginal note on p. 71 of the *Extension of Domesday Book relating to Cheshire and Lancashire.* We fancy (but as yet have no proof) that the form *Llysin* or *Llyssin*, which gives name to a township in Llanerfyl and also to *Plâs Llysyn* in Carno, and occurs, we believe, elsewhere, is but a softening of *Llystin.*

(*n*) There is the further question as to whether the name Myrddin had any more independent existence than that of *Lleon* Gawr, evolved out of Caer-*lleon* or Castra *Legionum*, and was not similarly evolved out of Caer-*fyrddin*. That the "Merlin" of northern legend (localized chiefly on the Tweed) has stepped into the shoes of a perfectly distinct person there can be no reasonable doubt—for in the fragment of the old Life of St. Kentigern, discovered by Mr. H. L. D. Ward of the British Museum in MS. Cott. Titus A. xix. (abridged by Bower in his *Scotichronicon*), the hero of the legend is called *Lailoken*, and the author adds "that *some* identified him with Merlin" ("eum qui *Lailoken* vocabatur. quem quidam dicunt fuisse Merlynum"). As to Lailocen, he is mentioned in chapter xlv. of Jocelyn of Furness' *Life of St. Kentigern*, as *Laloecen* or *Laloicen*, a fool at the court of Rhydderch Hael who possessed the gift of prophecy; in the Welsh Merlin-poems this word (there used as a name or epithet of Merlin) is made into *Llallogan*, which has been explained as meaning 'twin-brother'; but there is plenty of evidence that it was a personal name, for we find a *Lalocan* (this was pointed out to us by Mr. Ward) in

Cartulaire de Redon, 125, and the simpler form *Lallócc* occurs as a woman's name in Stokes' *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, p. 82 (*Lallócc o Senliuss*), p. 104 (*Lallocc sanctam*), p. 317 (*posuit in illo sanctam filiam Lalocam*, from *Book of Armagh*, fo. 12[b], 1).

Then again, if the Cumbrian "Merlin" has stepped into the shoes of Laloicen, the Merlin of modern Wales has similarly stepped into those of Emrys or Ambrosius. Here the process is simply transparent. The legends of "Nennius" (a work written in the first half of the ninth century) concerning the finding and consultation of Ambrosius (§§ 41, 42) have been simply copied in all the leading incidents by Geoffrey of Monmouth (vi. 17–19), with the difference that Nennius' 'Ambrosius' is called by Geoffrey 'Merlinus' or 'Merlinus Ambrosius.'[3] Geoffrey has of course slightly embellished and altered the minor details of the story; and in one instance a change made by him is really instructive; for he makes the 'fatherless boy' to be found, not at "Campus Electi (or *Elleti*) in regione Gleguissing" (which last name certainly comprehended no country *north* of the Towy), but at *Carmarthen*. This shows that Geoffrey had here in his eye the connection of *Myrddin* with Caer-*fyrddin*. He also adds that his mother was a daughter of the king of Dyfed; which exactly fits in with what he tells us in his *Vita Merlini*, that Merlin was a king in Dyfed, which province, it should be remembered, included Carmarthen as late as 1132, and in earlier times embraced all or most of the country between the Towy and Teifi rivers: see ll. 21–2:

> "Rex erat et vates: Demetarumque superbis
> Iura dabat populis, ducibusque futura canebat."

On the other hand, when Geoffrey in the same poem makes Merlin go out of his mind in consequence of the battle of Arderydd (in which he is followed by the Welsh Merlin-poems), the personage alluded to is not the Demetian Myrddin, but the Cumbrian Laloicen, of whom exactly the same episode is related in the fragment of Titus A. xix. and in Bower's *Scotochronicon*. With Geoffrey the identification of Merlinus and Laloicen was complete; but with the later Scottish writers it was still a matter of doubt.

As to the Ambrosius of *Nennius*, he can hardly be other than the historical Ambrosius Aurelianus of Gildas, as filtered through three or four centuries of Welsh legend. This is actually acknowledged in

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[3] In chapter 19 he is called "Merlinus, qui et Ambrosius dicebatur," and immediately afterwards "Ambrosius Merlinus." Previously he had been called simply "Merlinus."

Nennius itself; for Ambrosius' answer when he is asked his name, "Ambrosius vocor" (§ 42), is glossed in all the MSS. of *Nennius* 'id est, *Embreis Guletic*"; now *Gwledig* is an epithet answering to *Princeps* or *Imperator*, and no one but the historical Ambrosius can here be indicated.[4]

(*o*) *Carlisle* (the *s* has no more business there than it has in *Islay*) is in Welsh *Caer Liwelydd*. *Lliwelydd* occurs both as a man's and as a woman's name; as the latter it existed in S. Wales up to comparatively recent times. We may compare such names as *Caer Wrangon* ('Worcester'; and also the name of a place in Carmarthenshire close to Pencarreg); for *Gwrangon* or *Gwyrangon* occurs only as a man's name (in *Nennius*, § 37, and *Life of St. Cadoc* in *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 94), and as the old and modern name (see *Lib. Land.*, p. 127) for the upper course of the Sychnant, the tributary of the Neath river down which goes the railway from Hirwain to Glyn Neath; which stream, like the *Meurig* in Gwent Is Coed and a host of other small rivers in Wales, probably took its name from some man.

The name *Gwrygon* in *Cair Guricon* (*Catalogue of Cities* in *Nennius*, § 76; see *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 183), the Old-Welsh name of *Vriconium*, wrongly written *Uriconium* (whence our *Wrox-eter* and *Wrekin*), is only known otherwise to occur as a woman's name, viz., in the case of *Gurycon Godheu* (*Cognatio de Brychan* in Cott., Vesp. A. xiv.[4a]) 'Gwrygon of Goddeu,' the daughter of Brychan and wife of Cadrod Calchfynydd; Goddeu and Calchfynydd are very reasonably identified by Mr. Skene with Cadyow, near Hamilton (cf. *Cospatrick*, from *Gwâs Patric*), and Kelso[5] respectively. *Cair Celemion* in the Nennian *Catalogue of Cities* (see *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 183), a place which cannot be identified, is likewise so called from a woman's name; for *Celemion* was the name of the daughter of Tudwal ab Anarod Gwalchcrwn (? *Gwallterwn*), who married Sanddef ab Algwn (or *Algun ?*), and by him was the great-grandmother of Merfyn Frych, who died in 844. See No. XIX. of the pedigrees from Jesus College MS. 20 (*Y*

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[4] When Nennius says (end of § 42) that Vortigern gave Ambrosius the *arx* (i.e., *Dinas Emrys*), with all the kingdoms of Western Britain, and himself retired to the North, we believe the historical Ambrosius to be referred to, and suspect the historical fact indicated to be a partition of power by which Vortigern took Lower, and Ambrosius Upper, Britain, as *Gwledig* or *Imperator*.

[4a] MS., fo. 11a; *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 274.

[5] See Skene's *Four Books*, i. 172-3, where he points out that the old name of Kelso was *Calchow*, apparently a translation of *Calchfynydd*, and that a hill in the town is still called the *Chalk Heugh*.

Cymmrodor, viii. 87), where her name is spelt *Celenion* (leg. *Celemon* or *Celemion?*), and the Cardiff copy of *Hanesyn Hen*, p. 64, where it is spelt *Keleinion*. In *Kulhwch ac Olwen* (Oxford *Mabinogion*, p. 112, l. 24) we think we have the same name under the corrupt form *relemon*, given there as the name of a daughter of Cai; in the very corrupt form of the Nennian *Catalogue of Cities* printed in the same volume, p. 309, the above-mentioned *Cair Celemion* becomes *Kaer selemion*; and it has struck us that the same mistake may also possibly have produced *Selemiaun*, given as the name of one of the parents of Cadell Dyrnllug in Genealogy No. XXVII. of Harleian MS. 3859 (see *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 181).

(*p*) Carstairs (anciently *Carstarras*) and Carluke are near the Clyde; the last part of the latter name is probably the Welsh man's name *Llwch*, and perhaps the place was named after the very Llwch Llawynnawg mentioned in connection with Eiddyn in the *Black Book of Carmarthen* (fo. 47[b] end; printed in Skene's *Four Books*, ii. 51), in the course of that curious poem about Arthur and his champions whose incompleteness is such a serious loss to Welsh Arthurian legend; the same *Lloch* or *Llwch* will be found in *Kulhwch ac Olwen* (Oxford *Mabinogion*, 107, 2 and 110, 12). A more historical *Llwch* was Llwch Llaw Enfawr (or Llawenfawr), the father-in-law of Cadifor Fawr, and lord of Cilsant; and in the *Englynion y Beddau* (*Black Book of Carmarthen*, fo. 33[b]; printed in Skene's *Four Books*, ii. 31) the grave of one Llwch Llawenghin (*llvch llaueghin*) is mentioned.

In Cott., Vesp. A. xiv. (see *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 275), Gwgon Gleddyfrudd[6] is said to have been "the son of *Llawch*, the son of *Llucho*, the son of Cedig, the son of Ceredig of Cardigan"; but the later Jesus College (Oxon.) MS. 20 (see Pedigree No. XLVIII. in *Y Cymmrodor*, viii. 90) substitutes one name *Llawr* (itself a well-known Welsh man's name) for the two names *Llawch* and *Llucho*.

(*q*) Carriden is on the Forth, W. of Edinburgh, and is the site of a Roman station. Its old form, found in the *Capitula* or "Contents" of Gildas' *Historia* (which are not by Gildas), cap. ix., xi., is *Cair Eden*, and it is there called "civitas antiquissima"; it is apparently the *Eiddyn Gaer* of the *Gorchan Cynfelyn* in the *Book of Aneurin* (Skene's *Four Books*, ii. 96). The Welsh name for Edinburgh is *Dineiddyn*, occurring in the *Book of Taliessin* (Skene, ii. 148) and in *Gorchan Maelderw* (*ib.*, p. 102), or *Dinas Eiddyn*, which (*never Dinas Edwin*) is the form occurring in all the four old texts[7] of the

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[6] N.B. The MS. here reads *Gugan cledyburdh*.

[7] Viz., the Hafod and Llanerch MSS. (now both belonging to Mr.

old *Bonedd y Saint*, *s.vv. Lleudat*, *Beuno*, and *Kyndeyrn*, under each of which headings they almost invariably mention the place as the abode of *Lleuddun Luyddog* (the *Leudonus* of the older *Life of St. Kentigern*, whence the territorial name *Lleudduniawn*,[8] the Welsh form which has got Gaelicized and shortened into *Lothian*.)

Eiddyn Vre ('the hill of Eiddyn') is found in *G. Maelderw* (Skene, ii. p. 105), and *Eiddyn Ysgor* both there (*ib.*, p. 98) and in the *Gododin* (*ib.*, p. 66). *Kyntedd Eiddyn* ('the court of E.') occurs in *Gododin* (*ib.*, p. 67); *Eiddyn* alone in *Gododin* (*ib.*, pp. 68, 86, 92), *Gorchan Maelderw* (*ib.*, pp. 102, 104) and *Book of Taliessin* (*ib.*, pp. 136, 149, 150), also in *Red Book Triad* No. 29 (see *Y Cymmrodor*, vii. 128), in the Welsh genealogies of Harl. MS. 3859 (see No. VII. in *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 173; and cf. x. 248) and Hengwrt MS. 536 (see Skene, ii. 454), and in *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales* (8vo. ed.), i. 104.

The form *Eithinin*, *Eithinyn*, occurring in *Gododin* (*ib.*, pp. 74, *bis*; p. 79), *G. Cynfelyn* (*ib.*, p. 96), and *G. Maelderw* (*ib.*, p. 104, *bis*) may be a man's name; but if it stands for the modern *Eiddynyn* (as would certainly appear from the rhymes at p. 104), not *Eithinin*, the word may be a tribal designation derived from a man's name, *Eiddyn*, like *Cynferchyn* from *Cynfarch* (for which see Skene, ii. 454, Oxford *Mabinogion*, p. 192). On the other hand, it is perhaps more probable that *Eiddyn* was the name of a district, and that Caer Eiddyn and Din Eiddyn and Clydno Eiddyn took their names from their situation in or connection with that district.

It is impossible either for the Welsh *Eiddyn* to come from *Edwin* (who is always called *Etwin*, *Edwin*, in Welsh), or the converse; but it seems highly probable that Edwin, on conquering the fortress, slightly altered the native designation so as to make it commemorate his own name under the form *Edwinesburgh* or its prototype, which was thenceforth adopted by the English.

(*r*) Professor Rhys informs us that "there is no other derivation"

W. L. Banks, of Plâs Madoc, Llanrwst), and the texts contained in Hengwrt MSS. 54 and 536; of all of which we have direct copies, made by ourselves or Mr. Gwenogfryn Evans, before us.

[8] The form *Leudonus* is found in chap. i. of the fragment of the old Life preserved in Cott., Titus A. xix., where he is said to have given name to the *provincia* of *Leudonia*, i.e., Lothian (see Bishop Forbes' *Lives of St. Ninian and St. Kentigern*, p. 245). The form *Lleudduniawn* is found in Gwalchmai's *Gorhoffedd*, *Myv. Arch.*, i. 196[a], where it is spelt *Lleudiniawn*.

for *caer* and *cathair*[9] than from *castrum;* "but one does not see clearly why the *s* should disappear." As regards the Welsh form, we do not speak as philologists, but we presume the idea to be that *castrum* was softened locally into some such form as *caserum* or *caser,* and that the medial *s* was treated just as the Aryan *s* in such cases as *chwaer* for **svaser.* Professor Rhys has pointed out that the conversion of *initial s* into *h* was a phonetic change not extinct in Welsh till after the days of Roman supremacy in Britain; for the Welsh have made *sextarius* into *hestaur* (now *'stor*) and probably *sērum* (in the sense of *soir*) into *hwyr;* the genuine Welsh representative of *serus* being *hir.*

A well-known instance of the dropping of *medial s* in a native word since Roman times is found in *Trisantona,*[1] the old name for the river *Trent.* This becomes *Trahannon* in the best MSS. of the *Mirabilia Britanniæ* (e.g., Royal MS. 13 D.v.; see Stevenson's text, § 67, where he does not give the reading of this MS., but adopts the bad reading *Transhannoni,* caused by a 10th-century Welsh scribe taking the *tra* to be the Welsh preposition, and hence translating it into the Latin *trans*). In later Welsh this has become *Tarannon.* There is hardly room for doubt that in the *Book of Taliessin* (Skene, ii. 212), where people are said to camp *ar Tren a Tharanhon,* the Trent is meant, for *Tren* is otherwise well-known as the Welsh name of the Tern. The name *Tarannon* (pronounced *Trannon*) is preserved as that of the stream which flows through Trefeglwys to join the Severn at Caersws; we have no doubt that the charlatans have derived it from *taranu* 'to thunder.'

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[9] In the Old-Irish Glosses this word is spelt *cathir,* and glosses *civitas* (see Zeuss' *Grammatica Celtica,* 2nd edition, top of p. 809). It is to be distinguished from *cathair,* 'a chair,' borrowed from *cathedra,* like the corresponding Welsh *cader.* On *Caherconree* see note (*s*) *infra.*

In an Irish Life of St. Columba, as cited in Reeves' *Adamnan,* p. 191, note *e,* a place called *Caer-na-mBroc* (there conjecturally identified with *Burg* Head, in N.-E. Scotland), is mentioned. Stokes, in his paper *On the Linguistic Value of the Irish Annals* (Philological Society, 1890), pp. 32, 34, equates the *Caer* of this name with the Welsh *caer,* and likewise with the first part of the name *Ceirfuill* in Skene's *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots,* p. 6 (see facsimile of the MS., col. 2, opposite p. 1); this name, he suggests, may be equivalent to the *Kerpul* of Reeves' *Culdees,* p. 133, and both to the Welsh *Caer-pwll.*

[1] See Rhys' *Celtic Britain,* 2nd edition, p. 80, note.

Why the Irish should drop the *s*, while they retained the *t*, of *castrum*, is a point on which we can offer no opinion.

Caer in Welsh is feminine; but it is to be noted that in Cornish place-names *car-* very often does not alter the mutable consonant that follows it; as in the names *Carmeal*, *Carmellow*, *Carmelor*, *Carmerrance*, *Carminow*, and *Carbilly*, all in Bannister's *Glossary of Cornish Names*. Of these names *Carminow*[2] seems to contain the Welsh man's name *Mynyw*, *Menyw*, or *Menw* (for which see *Red Book Triad* No. 20 in *Y Cymmrodor*, vii. 126-7, and the Oxford *Mabinogion*, pp. 302; 107, &c.; 147); and *Carbilly* or *Carbilla* (which gives or gave name to at least four places in East Cornwall) is certainly for *Caer Beli*,[3] or rather *Caer Feli*, as it would be in Welsh. Now this shows *Caer* to have been in Britain of common gender, which is exactly what we should expect, if it were derived from the neuter *castrum*.

(*s*) It would be interesting to inquire how far *caer* and *din* are in Wales and Cornwall *both applied to the same places*. We would ask whether the fort in Llan Nefydd called *Din-Cadfael* by Lewis Morris in his *Celtic Remains*, and giving name to the township of *Dinas Cadfel* in the said parish, is not the same as the fort called *Y Gaer* on the 1-inch Ordnance Map, sheet 79?

Cardinham has been noticed in note (*m*), *supra*: Leland (*Itinerary*, ed. 1769, iii., fo. 4.) also mentions a *Cairdine* (in or near St. Breage in Kerrier), then a seat of the Godolphins. That both *cathair* and

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[2] *Carmynow*, or *Carmenow*; it is situate in the parish of St. Mawgan in Meneage.

[3] John of Cornwall, in "Merlini Prophetia cum expositione Ioannis Cornubiensis," has the following interesting note on the words *fatale castrum*: "*Fatale castrum* dicit illud municipium in partibus nostris quod in Anglico dicitur *Aschbiri*, in Britannico *Kair belli*, et ut placet quibusdam et *castel uchel coed*" (Greith, *Spicilegium Vaticanum*, pp. 104-5, cited by Stokes in *Revue Celtique*, iii. 86). Here *fatale castrum* seems to be a gloss on *Kair belli*, if it be the case (as Professor Rhys once suggested to us before he knew of the above passage, and has since printed in his *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 37-8, 91) that *Beli* originally meant the god of death, his name being connected etymologically with the Irish word which we find in *atbél* 'peribo.' The place meant is probably Saltash, the older (English) names of which were *Asche* and *Ascheburgh*; not far off, in the parish of Anthony, is a place called *Carbeal* or *Carbele*. The other group of *Beli*-names, including *Carbilly Tor*, is considerably to the westward.

caer were used to designate the forts connected with mythical or prehistoric personages is sufficiently shown by such names as *Caherconree*,[4] from *Curoi Mac Daire* (on Slieve Mish, between Tralee and Dingle, where there seems to be no fort at all; see O'Donovan's *Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 212, note *t*); *Pen Caer Llin* above Llanbedr y Cennin on the Conwy; *Caer Dathal* (probably from the Irish name *Tuathal;* as *Dathal* rhymes with *ardal*, the orthographies *Dathyl*, *Dathl*, are wrong) in Arfon, which we have some reason for identifying either with the celebrated Tre'r Ceiri, or with Pen y Gaer not far off. To identify "Caer Dathal *in Arfon*" with Pen Caer Llin (called by Pennant, the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, and others, *Pen Caer Helen;* see note (*y*), *infra*) above Llanbedr y Cennin, at the end of *Arllechwedd* furthest from Arfon, as have done Pughe and others who merely copy him, is about as brilliant a piece of geography as would be the placing of London in Herts or Bucks! It is clear to any one who will read the passages of *Math ab Mathonwy* found at p. 59, l. 12; p. 63, ll. 2, 10-12 of the Oxford edition of the *Mabinogion*, that *Caer Dathal* was in Arfon, and that Arllechwedd was, to the author of that *Mabinogi* as to all down to the comparatively recent period when the blurrer and forger of Welsh history enters on the scene, perfectly distinct from Arfon; the oldest occurrence of *Arfon* for the modern "Carnarvonshire" that we know of is in Sir John Price's *Description of Wales* (the oldest MS. of which, Cott., Caligula A. vi., is in the British Museum, and dated 1559).[5]

(*t*) There is also the form *castellan* (cf. *dinan*, in note (*m*), *supra*), a diminutive of *castell*, not uncommon in Wales. One *Castellan*, where there are no traces of a fortified building (or any building at all, we believe, except a modern hovel) is a little north of Garth in Breconshire; it is very near Caeran, where there is a high artificial mound, and remains of buildings or roads (supposed to be Roman) have been dug up in the fields around. There is a second *Castellan* to the N.W. of Llandovery (not marked on the 1-inch Ordnance Map), a third, we are told, in North Cardiganshire, and a fourth in N.E. Pembrokeshire, which once gave its name to a parish church mentioned in Pope Nicholas' *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* (1291).

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[4] See the first footnote on note (*r*) *supra*.

[5] It was edited ("afterward augmented and made perfect") by Humphrey Lloyd, and is printed in Powel's *Historie of Cambria*, 1584, pp. 1—22 (and we presume in all subsequent editions of that work; in the Merthyr edition of 1812 it occupies pp. i.—xxiv.). It was printed in a separate form by William Hall at Oxford in 1663, where it is said to have been merely "perused" by Humphrey Lloyd.

Castell itself is used in parts, just like *dinas*, to designate an imposing natural position. For instance, up the valley of the Gwennol, E. of Llandovery, the moors of Neithgrug (of course made into *Noeth grug* by the Ordnance mapsters, followed by Murchison in his *Siluria* and the *race moutonnière* of guide-book hacks) rise into a rocky and precipitous height called "*Castell* Craig *yr wyddon*" (*not gwyddon*, as the Ordnance mapster, or *derwyddon*, as the local *illuminés*). Here one of the oldest natives tells us there was a cave, now stopped up, into which some persons venturing in search of treasure saw a chest *a llun brân erni* ('with the *shape* of a crow upon it') and had their lights mysteriously extinguished. Then again, not far from there, where Cefn Arthen (or Cefn Erthan) comes down on the Cwm Dwr at the mouth of Cwm Glyn, there is a rocky escarpment known as *Cestyll* or *Castell*, we forget which.

(*u*) Having regard to the generally unscientific, not to say insane, character of most of Mr. Lewis' efforts in Welsh etymologizing, it is as well to inform the general reader that the equation of the Old-Welsh *treb* with the Latin *tribus* is one that has been proposed by and is accepted among Celtic philologists, for instance, by Whitley Stokes. The Anglo-Saxon, Old-Norse, and English *thorp*, and the German *dorf* are cognates, and the Anglo-Saxon *thróp*, *threp* 'village' and the Lithuanian *trobà* 'a building' are possibly connected, Mr. Stokes informs us.

It is worth while noting that in at least two place-names *Tref* (see Rhys' *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 406) is a comparatively modern substitution for a prior *Din* or *Caer*; viz., in *Tremeirchion*, near St. Asaph, formerly called *Din Meirchion*, and *Tregoning*, in the parish of St. Breage in Kerrier, Cornwall, which is called "*Cair Kenin*, alias *Gonyn* and *Conin*" by Leland (*Itin.*, ed. 1769, iii., fo. 4), equivalent to *Caer Gynin* in Welsh; there is an important fort there, on a hill called *Pencair* in Leland's time.

(*v*) The Welsh *cantrefi* or 'hundreds' vary so much in size that we cannot believe that *cantref* preserved the same meaning through all the stages of early Welsh history. Some of the variations of size in the *cantrefi* are to be explained by the relative fertility and therefore populousness of different parts of Wales: for instance, we can quite see why the hundreds of Anglesey or of parts of what is now called Pembrokeshire should be relatively small in area; but this principle will not account for some instances where very large areas with a considerable proportion of lowland soil are styled *cantrefi*. Striking instances of this are furnished by the two *Cantrefi* north of the Towy in what is now Carmarthenshire. The first of these, embracing the whole area from near Tregaron to near Carmarthen, was called

Cantref Mawr ('the Great Hundred'), and contained no less than seven commotes or *cymydau.* Now there is sufficient evidence to show that in early times this *cantref* belonged to Demetia or Dyfed, but that it was conquered in the 8th century, with two other *Cantrefi* S. of the Towy (the adjacent one called by contrast *Cantref Bychan* or 'the Little Hundred'), by or before the time of Seissyll ab Clydog, king of Ceredigion, from whom the district of Ystrad Tywi, comprising the said three *Cantrefi*, was called, together with Ceredigion, *Seissyllwg* or 'Seissyll's Land.'[6] Another ancient hundred of modern Car-

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[6] See *Pwyll Pendefig Dyfed* in the Oxford *Mabinogion*, p. 25: "Ac y gwledychwys ynteu Pryderi seith cantref Dyuet yn llwydyannus garedic gan y gyuoeth a chan pawb yn y gylch. *Ac yn ol hynny y kynnydwys tri chantref Ystrat Tywi. A phedwar cantref Keredigyawn. Ac y gelwir y rei hynny seith gantref Seissyllwch.*" The last sentence, which means: 'And after that he (Pwyll) added (to Dyfed) the three Cantrefs of Ystrad Tywi, and the four Cantrefs of Ceredigion; which are called the seven Cantrefs of *Seissyllwg*,' and its interpretation, have been surprisingly bungled by M. Loth in his *Mabinogion.* At vol. i., p. 63, he translates the passage: "Ensuite il ajouta à ses domaines les trois *cantrevs* d'Ystrat Tywi et quatre *cantrevs* de Seisyllwc." This translation (?) is arrived at by means of an unhappy homœoteleuton, through which he omitted the words: *Keredigiawn. Ac y gelwir y rei hynny seith gantref*, as will be seen by a comparison with the text and correct translation given above. After this blunder *in limine*, M. Loth proceeds to inform us in a note that *Ystrad Tywi* here means 'the valley of the Towy,' being apparently ignorant of the technical sense of *Ystrad Tywi*, in which it no more denotes 'the valley of the Towy' than *Ystrad Alun* denotes 'the valley of the Alun.' Then he goes on to tell us that *Seissyllwg* means Cardigan. But this is not all; for in a note on pp. 27-8 of the same volume part of this passage is translated with the substitution of "Carmarthen" for the *Ystrad Tywi* of the original text; whilst a little lower down we are told that the seven cantrefs which made up ancient Dyfed "only comprise the modern county of Pembroke."

Would M. Loth, who equates Ystrad Tywi with Carmarthenshire, and Dyfed with Pembrokeshire, be surprised to hear (1) that a whole commote of ancient Ystrad Tywi, namely Gower, is now in Glamorganshire? (2) that a whole hundred (and a very large one) of the seven hundreds of Dyfed, to wit, Cantref Gwarthaf, and half of another, namely, Emlyn, are now in Carmarthenshire? and that according

marthenshire was included in Dyfed; it was called *Cantref Gwarthaf* or 'The Upper Hundred,' and contained no less than eight commotes. The name 'Upper Hundred,' be it noted, can only have been given it after the mutilation of Dyfed by Ceredigion; for previously it could under no aspect have been said to be "the *Upper* Hundred" of Dyfed. We suspect that the (*relative*, and therefore probably not very old) names of *Cantref Mawr* and *Cantref Bychan* (the former N., the latter S. of the Towy) are also posterior to Seissyll's conquest, though the *Cantref Bychan* was not apparently conquered from Dyfed. However soon after 750 or 800 (between which dates Seissyll lived) these three *cantref*-names were imposed, we believe that at the period of their imposition *Cantref* had got to be used in a non-technical sense, and we suspect in that of a mere 'district' or 'province.'

(*w*) Canon Silvan Evans believes *Velindref* to be (in many, if not in all cases) a corruption of *Vileindref*, 'Villein's *tref*,' a term mentioned in the Welsh Laws. It would be interesting, with reference to this suggestion, to have a collection made of all the instances where *Velindre* occurs in Wales or Cornwall, and to know whether the name is always found on sites where water-mills (for windmills are of comparatively recent introduction into Wales) still exist, are recorded to have existed, or might have existed.

(*x*) The case is very much stronger than this. *Maenor* occurs in one of the documents in the *Book of St. Chad*, already quoted by us (see note (*a*) *supra*) as written in the Mercian hand of the time of King Offa, which begins: "Ostendit ista consripsio nobilitate*m* mainaur med diminih *et* mensura*m eius*": i.e., 'This writing sheweth the nobleness of the *Mead Maenor of the Monks* and its measurement;' of which document the "facsimile" opposite to p. 275 of the work known as *Liber Landavensis* is not a facsimile at all. Even our English historians will hardly be prepared to sustain the hypothesis that the Welsh borrowed a Norman-French word prior to A.D. 800! The word *mainaur* is very common in the *Liber Landavensis* as an element of place-names in S. Wales.

As to its origin, the termination *-aur*, now written *-awr*, was (see

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to the *Liber Landavensis*, the county town of Carmarthen was in Cantref Gwarthaf, i.e., in Dyfed, in 1132?

The moral of all which is that we should take the trouble to *read* our texts before we either translate or comment on them, and, before writing on the ancient topography of a country, should master the rudiments of that topography.

Y Cymmrodor, ix. 265) in common use in Middle-Welsh to form the plurals of a few words; and Professor Rhys once suggested to us that *mainaur* originally meant 'stones,' and hence a space enclosed by boundary-stones. He compared the Gaelic *clachan*, the plural of *clach* 'a stone' (=Welsh **clag*, whence the plural *clegyr*,[7] used in parts of N. Wales to designate a rocky spot; cf. *clôg* in place-names and in *clogwyn*), which is the ordinary word for 'a village, a hamlet where a church is,' and we need hardly say has been utilized in support of their dreams by the Druidomaniacs. Is the first part of the Cumberland term *mean-field*, i.e., 'a field in which the several shares or ownerships are known by meer-stones or other boundary marks,' of English or Welsh origin?

The accepted derivation of *manor* (see Skeat's *Concise Etymological Dictionary*, ed. 1887) is from Old-French *manoir* 'a mansion,' *manoir* 'to dwell' (from Latin *manēre*). The Welsh *aw* is in Old-Celtic *ā* now *ā* would not, we believe, make *oi* in French. The Breton *maner* means the same as *manoir*, and seems a mere loan-word; of the existence of *mainaur* in Cornwall or Brittany we have as yet found no certain evidence, but as we have Breton *tier* as a plural from *ti* 'house,' and other such forms (see *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 265), so we might presumably have **mener* from *men* 'stone.' But is there anything to show that the words *manerium*, *manoir*, come from Brittany or from Breton?

Since writing the above we find that there is a *Manorgwidden* (*-gwidden* = *gwidn* = W. *gwyn* 'white') in Cornwall, mentioned in Bannister's *Glossary of Cornish Names* (*s.v.*); we do not know where it is situated.

(*y*) The older people in Carnarvon still say *Coed Alun*. *Helenomania* is one of the perversest fads of our North-Welsh village-etymologists; it consists in altering every possible place-name, or part thereof, which contains the sequence of consonants *l* (or *ll*) and *n* into *Helen*. A well-known instance is *Dolwyddelan*, meaning 'Gwyddelan's meadow' (cf. *Llan-wyddelan*, *Bod-wyddelan*); this, in defiance alike of the ancient forms and the modern pronunciation of the name, is coolly altered by our Helenomaniacs into *Dolydd Elen* to make the word mean 'Helen's meadows'; and people actually still exist who date their letters from "Dolyddelen"!

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[7] This word is exactly equivalent in sense and approximately so in form to the Irish *clochar*, common in place-names under the Anglicized form of *Clogher*, and denoting "a place abounding in stones, or having a stony surface." (Joyce's *Irish Place-names*, 1st Series, ed. 1875, p. 413.)

Another flagrant piece of Helenomania was perpetrated by Pennant, or by his same Welsh advisers who made up for him the utterly fictitious names of *Caer Hen* for *Caer Rhun*, *Arddwy* for *Arddu*, *Traeth Wylofaen*[8] (*sic*) for *T. Lafan*, *Cegid* (river) for *Cegin*,[9] &c. We allude to the alteration of *Pen Caer Llin*, the remarkable fort above Llanbedr y Cennin, in the Vale of Conwy, into *Pen Caer Helen*. The place is still called *Pen Caer Llin* (though often also *Pen y Gaer*) in the neighbourhood, but some local antiquarian writers, and contributors to the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, know better, and call it *Pen*

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[8] A similar folk-etymology of *Traeth Lafan* is to be found in a valuable memorandum (in Latin) containing the answers of one "G.R.," a correspondent of Edward Llwyd's, to the questions of the latter; where we find, amongst a batch of the like pretty dreams, wisely prefaced by an *ut aiunt*, and characterized in the margin as "ingeniosa vulgi figmenta circa locorum nomina": "*Traeth yr Lafan* à *traeth oer lefain.*" (See *Arch. Camb.* for 1860, 3rd Series, vol. vi., p. 237.) In the unpublished Dinorben Fach MS. (17th century) of *Bonedd y Saint*, the place is called (p. 233) "*y traeth aflawen*, yn y ddwy Gyfylchi."

[9] The little river *Cegin* is so called from the spring where it rises in Llanddeiniolen, called *Ffynnon Cegin Arthur* 'the Well of Arthur's Kitchen;' apropos of which the late Dr. Wynn Williams once told a meeting of the Cymmrodorion Society that when the water of the spring came up with more bubbles than usual, the natives used to remark that a great deal of cooking was going on in King Arthur's kitchen below! A similar instance of a stream being named after the spot where it rises is to be found in the *Glaslyn* at Beddgelert, which rises in the well-known tarn of *Glaslyn* under Snowdon; here the modern name has supplanted the old name of the river, which is called *Ferlas* in the Conway Charters (see Williams' *History of Aberconwy*, p. 168),—a name still preserved in a place called (on the map) *Ferlas*, below Aberglaslyn.

For the fictitious names cited from Pennant's *Tours in Wales*, see Rhys' edition, i. 17, iii. 129 (*Caer Hen*); ii. 326 (*Arddwy*); iii. 30 (*Traeth Wylofaen*, also *Traeth Telaven*); iii. 82 (*Aber Cegid;* correctly spelt at ii. 323, where the origin of the name is explained). *Pen Caer Helen* will be found at iii. 130. Then there is that ineffable forgery *Bwlch Agricla* 'Agricola's Pass,' at ii. 26; and where did Pennant get his *Tre'r Yrys* (for *Eryrys* or *Erryrys*) on the same page, his "*Teberri* Castle," i.e., *Castell y Bere*, at ii. 239, or his *Trelacre*, for *Talacre*, i. 17?

Caer Helen. The modern alteration of *Coed Alun* into *Coed Helen* is equally arbitrary and charlatanic.

The *Elen* (not *Helen*) who in Welsh legend was connected with Carnarvon and with the road now called *Sarn Helen* (in parts also *Sarn Halen*) was the wife of the legendary Maxen Wledig, concocted out of the historical emperor Maximus; her name has apparently been converted into *Helen* through confusing her with *Helena*, the mother of the Emperor Constantine.

(*z*) In *Revue Celtique*, vi. 49, Professor Rhys has a note about *tyddyn*, as follows: " . . . *tyddyn* 'a house with the land around it, a small farm,' which I had long suspected of having *dd* for *j* and of standing for *tegj-inn*, when I found the necessary proof the other day in the old form *tegdin* in the Welsh Laws,—the word is commonly shortened to *tyn* in names of farm-houses all over Wales, such as *Tyn Llwyn*, *Tyn Simdde*, etc." Professor Rhys regards *tegj-* as standing for *tegi-*, the stem of a genitive **tegi(s)os* = Gr. τέγεος; and the *-yn* as the ordinary Welsh singulative termination. We may perhaps here mention that the Basque *tegi* 'place, abode' looks like a loan-word from some case of the Old-Celtic word for 'a house.' With reference to Professor Rhys' equation of *Tyn* with *Tyddyn*, it would be interesting to know how places now called *Tyn* are spelt in old documents; of his instances *Tyn Simdde* could hardly mean 'the house in the chimney,' but such names as *Tyn Llwyn*, *Tyn Coed*, &c., might very well be from *Ty'n Llwyn* or *Ty'n Coed*, in the sense of 'the house in (*Ty yn*) the bush or wood'; and this, we believe, is the usual explanation.

THE SETTLEMENT OF BRITTANY.

By W. Edwards, M.A., of Merthyr Tydvil.[1]

This subject has received considerable attention in France, and especially in Brittany itself, but has not been thoroughly or scientifically treated in any English work; and the purpose of my paper is to give in small compass the conclusions of De la Borderie, De Courson, and Loth, whose exhaustive investigations have entitled them to be regarded as the chief authorities on the question.

I need not dwell at length upon the resemblance between the Breton and Welsh languages, and the still closer affinity between Breton and the now extinct Cornish. All three have been identified as belonging to the Brythonic section of the Celtic. Considering the influence of phonetic decay, and of a long intercourse with alien nations, it is surprising that Welsh and Breton should have retained such a similarity as they now exhibit even to a non-philological ear. The commonly-related stories about their mutual intelligibility are not, however, to be credited. Many words are very like in the two languages, but these are not so numerous as to make communication easy; and if a Welshman has ever made himself understood by a Breton, it must have been by dint of great cleverness on the part of both interlocutors. In any case, the Welshman travelling

[1] Read before the Society on June 4th, 1890.

in "Bretagne bretonnante" finds the country strangely familiar to him. If the words which he recognizes in the common speech are few and far between, the place-names everywhere remind him of Wales—Landivisiau, Lampaul, Hennebont, Morbihan, Kerpenhir, Bangor, Tregastel, &c. He imagines also that he sees in the faces of the country-people a frequently-recurring Welsh type of physiognomy —round, dark-eyed, and rosy-cheeked.

The theories that would account for the existence, across the Channel, of a language which has so evident a kinship with Welsh and Cornish, are the following:—

(1) That Breton is a development of the old Gaulish, a remainder *in situ* of the language which was spoken by the inhabitants of Gaul before the Roman invasion.

(2) That Breton is simply a British dialect transplanted with a colony from Britain at some distant date.

The first theory given is plausible enough, and although it has never had many supporters, it is perhaps necessary to examine the grounds on which it could rest. These are chiefly of *a priori* character, but are by no means deficient in plausibility. It does not at first sight seem at all improbable that in the Armorican peninsula there should be a survival of a Gaulish dialect, just as the projections of Cornwall and Wales have enabled the natives of those parts to escape assimilation with the English, in one case for many centuries, in the other for a period still indeterminate. It is true that the Armorican peninsula was not mountainous; but forests and marshes might serve to protect the relics of a liberty-loving race, such as we know the old Armoricans to have been. But we have to consider whether Gaulish could have been the original of a language of a Brythonic type. Tacitus says in the *Annals* that "the language of the Britons is not very different from that of the Gauls;" and the great Celtic grammarian Zeuss believes, from the very

scanty data which are available for comparison, that the old Gaulish must have been very close to the old Welsh. If I mistake not, our chief authority, Professor Rhys, who started with the opinion that Gaulish was not Brythonic in its character, now holds [2] that it was so. The means of comparing the early stages of the Celtic languages are extremely meagre, and often seem to resolve themselves into a question of *p*'s and *q*'s.[3]

The assertion made by Tacitus cannot be lightly set aside. The resemblance which struck Tacitus must have been of a practical kind, that is to say, it implied the possibility of communication. That there was a frequent intercourse between the Gauls and the Britons we know from Cæsar and Tacitus, as well as from earlier writers. The island was colonized from Gaul in the first instance. Some of the British tribes, as the Atrebates and Parisi, had probably been settled in recent times from metropolitan states bearing the same names on the continent.

M. Loth makes a different use of Tacitus' statement. If, he says, the difference between Gaulish and British was great enough to be described as "not *very* great," surely Giraldus Cambrensis, writing in the twelfth century, could not have found the Breton language all but intelligible to the Welsh people of his time.[4] Whatever difference

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[2] This is so. See his *Celtic Britain*.—Ed.

[3] See, for instance, Rhys' *Celtic Britain*, 2nd ed., pp. 213-4, and his Rhind Lectures on the Early Ethnology of the British Isles, now being printed in piecemeal form in the *Scottish Review*.—Ed.

[4] This passage is very inaccurately given in a footnote to p. 92 of Loth's *L'Émigration bretonne en Armorique*, and has elsewhere been misquoted. We therefore give the original here from Giraldus' *Descriptio Kambriæ*, Book I., chap. vi. (*Works*, Rolls edition, vol. vi., p. 177): "Cornubia vero, et Armorica Britannia, lingua utuntur fere persimili; Kambris tamen, propter originalem convenientiam, in multis adhuc *et fere cunctis* intelligibili." Two other MSS. omit the

existed in the first century would have been immensely increased, according to all experience of the operation of linguistic growth and decay, by the twelfth century. Hence M. Loth concludes that Breton cannot be derived from Gaulish.

Perhaps I should mention a third theory, which was held by the late Mr. T. Wright. According to him the British dialects had been entirely supplanted by a form of Latin before the Romans evacuated the country, and the existence of the Welsh, and formerly of the Cornish language, can only be accounted for by a migration from Armorica in the 5th century.[5]

We shall best decide the question by following the method of M. Loth in his book *L'Émigration bretonne en Armorique.* It will be useful first to glance at the history of the Armorican peninsula during the early centuries of our era. When Cæsar commenced his campaign in Gaul, the peninsula was divided between five states or tribes, the Redones,

italicized words, and one has *et fere*, but omits *cunctis*. It will be seen from these various readings how open to qualification any statement of the mutual intelligibility of Welsh on the one hand, and Cornish and Breton (rightly regarded by Giraldus as being in his time virtually the same language) on the other, was considered 600 or 700 years ago. Now, of course, the difference between the languages is immensely greater, largely owing to the inordinate borrowing from French which has taken place in Breton.—Ed.

[5] See *Arch. Camb.* for 1858 (3rd Series, vol. iv.), pp. 289-305. This "theory" is as groundless and worthless as everything, or nearly everything, that the late Mr. Wright advanced or wrote on Celtic subjects. Mr. Wright's scholarship in matters of Welsh history was about on a par with the Latin and Scriptural scholarship which led him into those two famous blunders—the first of which consisted in reading the last word of *fungar vice cotis* as "*totis*," and translating the whole 'I will discharge all functions in turn,' and the second in translating *lepra Syri* 'the leprosy of *Syrus*'! (See the clever and amusing article *Antiquarian Club-books*, in the late Rev. Richard Garnett's *Philological Essays*, pp. 122-3).—Ed.

Namnetes, Curiosolites, Ossismii, and Veneti. Their territories may roughly be identified as follows: The Redones occupied the east or base of the peninsula, the Namnetes the banks of the lower Loire, the Veneti the south, the Ossismii the west or extremity of the peninsula, and the Curiosolites the north.[6] The leading state seems to have been the Veneti, who had extensive commerce with the British Islands and the Phœnicians, and possessed a considerable marine, as is shown by the reception which they gave Cæsar. Publius Crassus claimed to have reduced them to submission; but when a few months later they were required to furnish supplies for the Roman legions, they seized the messengers as hostages, and persuaded the other states of the peninsula to join in a great Armorican combination, and fight for the liberties which their forefathers had bequeathed to them. Their forces were rapidly concentrated; and we are informed that a contingent was sent by their British allies, for which friendly office Cæsar resolved to punish the latter in the following year. Cæsar complains "that in almost all the Gallic wars the Britons had sent assistance to the enemy." The Veneti muster 220 vessels, whose make and sea-going capabilities are described by Cæsar with great respect. A memorable naval battle followed just outside the Morbihan. Victory was with Cæsar, and the Imperator states that in one battle the war with the Veneti and all the coast nations was practically over, for the whole military and naval force of the enemy had been concentrated to meet him. Cæsar orders the council of elders to be put to death, and all the

[6] The towns of Rennes (in Breton, *Roazon*), Nantes (in Breton, *Naoned*), and Vannes (in Breton, *Gwened*), and the village of Corseul (near which part of an octagonal Roman building is still to be seen), W.N.W. of Dinan, preserve the names of four out of these five tribes. —Ed.

rest to be sold into slavery. If Cæsar's account of this campaign is not exaggerated, the inhabitants of the peninsula were completely subdued and deprived of all power of resistance. Henceforth Armorica forms part of the Roman Empire, and is included, according to the *Notitia Dignitatum Imperii*, in the *Tractus Armoricanus*, which extended through all north-west Gaul, and therefore considerably beyond the limits which are interesting to us. The history of this part of Gaul during the Roman occupation is almost a blank, so far as written allusions are concerned; but we know from the list of towns in the *Notitia*, and from the remains of Roman roads and buildings, that the occupation was as thorough as it was in the rest of the country.

M. Bizeul, who is one of the leading authorities upon the ancient Roman geography of Gaul, is so impressed by the extent of the Roman remains that he refuses to accept the hypothesis of a British migration in the fifth and sixth centuries. There could have been no room in the country, in M. Bizeul's opinion, for such an extensive migration as is postulated by the commonly received theory. He remarks:—"It is due to a stupid error that our legend-writers, our chroniclers, and the modern authors who have taken them for guides have described the Armorican peninsula as a sort of desert in the fourth, fifth and even in the sixth centuries, when the object is to deposit on our soil these pretended immigrants from over the channel, of whom they wish to make the first founders of the Breton kingdom, by dint of fables and other nonsense; as if all these remains and relics which we find to-day were not the most incontestable proof of the long continuance of a dense population; as if all these peoples, which at the time of the conquest of Gaul occupied the peninsula, had suddenly disappeared; as if, in short, the

Romans, whose handiwork we recognize everywhere, had formed these establishments and laid down these roads in a country denuded of inhabitants. Our geographical studies tend to rebut such a deplorable error." M. Bizeul's premiss may be turned against himself, for the more completely he proves the peninsula to have been Romanized, the more unlikely would be the survival of a Gaulish dialect, and the more necessary therefore it becomes to assign an external origin to the Breton. He seems to have concluded too much from the character and abundance of the Roman works when he argues that they prove the continuance of a dense population down to the fourth or fifth century. The long duration of the Roman rule gave sufficient time both for the growth of a large and prosperous community, boasting all the accompaniments of civilization, in the shape of substantial monuments, &c., and for a period of decay and depopulation. We are not, however, left to mere conjecture on this point. M. de la Borderie points out that none of the Roman coins and medals found in Brittany bear a date between 306 and 460, while there are over twenty that may be ascribed to the preceding centuries. The whole history of the Roman Empire during its disintegration makes us familiar with the idea that large tracts of country had been rendered bare of inhabitants, and had been withdrawn from cultivation owing to the exacting demands of the prefects, who had to furnish a toll of revenue to the emperors without regard to the ability of the district to bear the drain. This may have been the fate of the western part of the peninsula, a supposition which derives support from other considerations to be touched upon later. Towards the east there must have been a thicker population, for we find the Armoricans actively engaged in evicting the Roman governors (about 408), as the Britons were doing at the same time. They

hold their ground against the invading German tribes after the latter have overrun a large part of Gaul, and only consent to surrender their independence when the conquerors themselves yield to the influence of the Gallic church.

Up to about 450 A.D. there are only Armoricans in the peninsula, of whom, in the opinion of M. Loth, it may be asserted that they had lost all trace of their old Gaulish dialect as completely as the remainder of the inhabitants of Gaul had done, although this does not preclude the possibility of a Gaulish element being found in the language which finally prevailed.[7] The Roman dialect which ultimately became the modern French or Provençal had, at the date given, come into universal use. This is M. Loth's conclusion. The complete victory of Latin over the vernacular is difficult to explain except on the hypothesis that the bulk of the population lived in or very near the Roman towns, which exercised therefore a highly concentrated influence upon the Gauls themselves, and finally upon their barbarian conquerors. Also it must be remembered that in adopting a form of Latin the Gauls imposed upon it several characteristics which harmonized the new speech with the genius of the vernacular, and made the transition more natural. The periphrastic forms were largely introduced in lieu of the inflexional, the distinction of the neuter gender and the case-endings were abolished, and in the general process of accommodation it is probable that many Gaulish words were continued in use.[8]

[7] We do not in the least believe that it has been shown, or ever can be shown, that Gaulish was extinct either in all Brittany or in remote and wild parts of the rest of Gaul in the fifth century. We cannot see why it may not have lingered on in such districts for centuries after we last hear of its existence.—Ed.

[8] A larger number than is generally supposed exist in French, e.g.,

If it is too much to state that Gaulish as a separate idiom had become entirely extinct at the date under consideration, it seems at any rate to have been proved that in the closing years of the Roman domination Armorica was, as regards language, in the same position as the rest of Gaul. There is no evidence to show that Gaulish lingered in the peninsula longer than in the main body of the country, and even if there were no other obstacles to the theory that Breton represents the old Gaulish, this difficulty alone would be almost insurmountable.

In the second half of the fifth century there suddenly emerges on the scene a new people, for mention is made for the first time of *Britons*. Henceforth a distinction is made between two nations living side by side in the peninsula, the Britons and the Romans, and their respective territories are designated Britannia and Romania. The Romans are the Armoricans, Roman in language and culture, and on the point of being merged in the Frankish kingdom, while the Britons speak a Celtic dialect, and cover the country with place-names which differ entirely in sound and form from those used in the east of the peninsula. The earliest authentic mention of a Briton in Armorica seems to be that of Mansuetus "a bishop of the Britons," who is said to have been present at the council of Tours in 461 (Labbe, *Sacrosancta Concilia*, published in 1672). Again, Jornandes (*De Rebus Geticis*, 552) relates that "Euric, King of the Visigoths, perceiving the frequent changes of Roman governors, tried to occupy all Gaul in his own right. Learning this, the Emperor Anthemius forthwith asked the help of the Britons, whose

mègue 'whey' (Irish *medg*, Welsh *maidd*), the stem of *bris-er* 'to break' (Irish *brisim* 'I break), *lucet* 'whortleberry' (W. *llus*), *bruyère* 'heather' (Low Latin *brugeria*; cf. Irish *fraoch*, W. *grug* for **gwrug*), *verne* or *vergne* 'alder' (W. *gwern*, Irish *fearn*), &c.—Ed.

king Riothimus, coming with 12,000 men, arriving from the ocean, was received into the state of the Bituriges."[9] MM. Loth and De la Borderie believe that this army must have already been lodged on the territory of the peninsula; for it is not probable that Anthemius would have invoked the aid of the insular Britons, themselves in the throes of a struggle against the Saxons. But at the date assigned (468) the Saxons had pushed very little beyond the eastern sea-board;[1] and there is not much difficulty in supposing

[9] "Euricus ergo Vesegothorum rex, crebram mutationem Romanorum principum cerneus, Gallias suo jure nisus est occupare. Quod comperiens Anthemius imperator, protinus solatia Britonum postulavit. Quorum rex Rhiothimus cum xii. millibus veniens, in Biturigas civitatem oceano, e navibus egressus, susceptus est."—*Mon. Hist. Brit.*, lxxxiii. The chief city of the *Bituriges*, Avaricum, is now represented by *Bourges*.—Ed.

[1] Here must be borne in mind the distinction between a temporary devastation or foray and an invasion directly resulting in permanent conquest. The following passage of Gildas' *Historia* describes the first devastations of the Saxons after their ill-fated invitation by Vortigern to repel the Picts and Scots, and their subsequent threat to turn their arms against the Britons, narrated in § 23, which the passage we quote immediately follows:

"Confovebatur namque, ultionis justæ præcedentium scelerum causa, de mari usque ad mare ignis orientalis [*al.* orientali] sacrilegorum manu exaggeratus, [et] finitimas quasque civitates agrosque populans, [qui] non quievit accensus, donec cunctam pene exurens [*al.* excurans] insulæ superficiem rubra occidentalem trucique oceanum linguâ delamberet" (§ 24; the words *simply* bracketed are not in all the MSS.). The passage is thus translated by Giles: "For the fire of vengeance, justly kindled by former crimes, spread from sea to sea, fed by the hands of our foes in the east, and did not cease until, destroying the neighbouring towns and lands, it reached the other side of the island, and dipped its red and savage tongue in the western ocean." This is a clear statement that, before Gildas wrote these words, the Saxons had reached some point of the sea towards the West; possibly he only refers to the first invasions of the West-Saxons in Hants or Dorset, which were on the western sea as compared to East Kent, where the Saxons first landed; possibly, again, he refers to some forays previous to the battle of Badbury

that the Briton auxiliaries had come from the western or southern parts of the island.[2] The sudden appearance of a ready-made army of so large a size does not seem to fit in with the general theory that the migration was due to the pressure of the invasion. It seems more likely that the colony, if already formed, had its origin in the establishment, on forfeited territory, of a garrison of British soldiers, amenable to Roman martial law, and therefore convenient for Anthemius' purpose. Whatever may be the explanation, we have, at any rate, the fact, if the notices are

Hill (see pp. 74-7, *infra*, and note 9 on p. 76), which may well have reached the marshes and lagoons which then fringed the Bristol Channel where the isthmus between it and the English Channel is narrowest, say near Ilchester or Ilminster.—Ed.

[2] On this point the following passage from the *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, a work of the 11th century, where a very early communication between *Strathclyde* and Armorica is mentioned, is well worthy of attention. It should be borne in mind that St. Patrick was certainly born in the second half of the fourth century, and that thus the foray into Armorica mentioned here, if in any degree historical, might very well be an indirect consequence of the first invasions of the two Britains by the Picts and Scots in 360:

"Now this is the cause of Patrick's coming at first to Ireland. There were in exile seven sons of Fechtmaide, to wit, seven sons of the King of Britain, and they went to ravage in Armorica. It came to pass that some Britons of Strathclyde [St. Patrick was a native of Strathclyde] were on a journey to their brethren, that is, to the Britons of Armorica; and in the ravaging were slain Calpurn, son of Potitus, Patrick's father, and his mother Concess, daughter of Ocbass of Gaul. Patrick, then, is taken in the ravaging, and his two sisters, namely, Lupait and Tigris. Fechtmaide's seven sons then put to sea; and Patrick and his two sisters were with them in captivity."—*Tripartite Life*, Stokes' Rolls Edition, p. 17. It occurs to us that *Fechtmaide* may represent some form of the Welsh name *Gwaithfoed*, and that *Ocbas* may possibly be a corrupt form for **Ochdas* = the Welsh name *Eudas* (also spelt *Ewedas*), given twice by Giraldus (*Itinerarium Kambriæ*, i. 4; Works, vi. 50: and *De Invectionibus*, vi. 4; Works, i. 157), the last part of which name reminds one of *Gildas*.—Ed.

credible, that Britons make their appearance for the first time in Armorica about the middle of the fifth century.

The account given by Geoffrey of Monmouth, partly on the authority of Nennius, of the foundation of a powerful Breton kingdom by Maximianus and Conan towards the end of the fourth century is, of course, not worthy of examination, as it forms part of a narration evidently mythical.[3]

It is now expedient to turn our attention to the state of Britain at the same epoch. We do not need to seek for proofs that the occupation of Britain by the Romans did not lead to the same complete assimilation of the inhabitants as in Gaul. The mountainous configuration of the western

[3] This "Maximianus" is taken from the Emperor Maximus of history. *Nennius* (§ 27) does not mention Conan, but simply says that the Emperor, having slain Gratian, instead of letting his soldiers return to Britain, gave them large tracts of land in Gaul; and that it is from them that the "Armorican Britons" are descended: but the tracts there indicated seem to embrace a far larger portion of Gaul than even the old Armorica, which they evidently include. Geoffrey (Book v.) gives us a detailed account of Maximianus' victories in Armorica, and makes him (chap. 14) give it to Conan Meriadoc, his wife's cousin. Thirdly, the genuine Welsh traditions found in the tale called *The Dream of Maximus* differ from Geoffrey in making Maximus' wife *sister* to Cynan, who is neither there nor anywhere else in genuine Welsh tradition called "Meriadec" (= *Meiriadog*); otherwise the account given in the Welsh tale of the conquest and settlement of Armorica, *so far as it goes*, resembles Geoffrey's. Cynan and his family have a place in Welsh historical tradition, where Stradweul, the daughter of his brother Gadeon, is the wife of Coel Hên, alias Coel Godebog (who has nothing to do with the ridiculous "Coel of Colchester," father of the fabulous *British* Helen of Geoffrey, v. 6). Whereas Meriadoc (to be distinguished both from the saint of that name and from the hero of the romance in MS. Faustina, B. vi.) seems to have been quite distinct from Cynan, and to belong exclusively to Breton tradition, in which he occurs more than once without the addition of any "Conan." He is apparently the *Meriadus* of Marie de France's *Lai de Gugemer* (ed. Rochefort, i. 98, &c.)—Ed.

parts of South Britain would, of course, partly account for the preservation of the British dialect in Wales and Cornwall, but it is difficult to suppose that even in the less protected centre and south the Latin language could have been universally used by the mass of the natives; otherwise the Saxon conquerors would have yielded, like the Franks, to the glamour of a superior civilization, and adopted in a more or less modified form the language of the conquered. The Romans settled in Britain a hundred years later than in Gaul, their position here was never so secure, owing to the greater distance from the centre of the empire, and the natives probably did not so easily fall into the ways of Roman municipal life.

Even in the time of Giraldus Cambrensis the Welsh "do not live together in towns, nor villages, nor camps, but remain in the woods, each man by himself. In the forest margins they are used to erect not great palaces, nor sumptuous and extravagant structures of stone-work towering up to the sky, but dwellings of wattled-work, which serve for a year's use only, and cost little money or trouble."[4] It does not follow from the elaborate system of roads connecting well-built towns, from the elegant villas and baths, and all the other evidences of Roman civilization, that the Britons at large had lost all their national traits, including their language. The facts are against such a theory. The Welsh language shows traces of having yielded but slightly to the influence of Latin, as only 500 or 600 words can be proved to have been borrowed from

[4] *Descriptio Kambriæ*, Bk. i. ch. 17: "Non urbe, non vico, non castris cohabitant; sed quasi solitarii silvis inhærent. In quarum [eisdem] margine non palatia magna, non [*al.* nec] sumptuosas et superfluas lapidum cæmentique structuras [in altum erigere], verum tecta viminea, usibus annuis sufficientia, modico tam labore quam sumptu connectere mos est."—Works (Rolls Edition), vi. 200-1. (The words *simply* bracketed are not in all the MSS.)—Ed.

that language; and many of these are ecclesiastical terms. It has been said, in fact, that the only foreign influence which had modified to any appreciable extent the language, the laws, or the customs of the Britons was that which had been exercised by the Church. It is a moot point as to when the Christian religion first made its way into Britain; but it is supposed to have been nominally at least triumphant before the end of the fifth century. The British Church distinguished itself by a vigorous independence in the matter of certain rites and customs in respect to which the Roman pontiffs were anxious to obtain a Catholic uniformity. Augustine is sent to require their submission on these points, one of which is the mode of calculating the date of Easter, the other a peculiar form of tonsure. The British bishops meet Augustine on the frontier, and refuse their submission, according to the well-known story, because he remains seated on their appearance, thereby showing an un-Christian arrogance which disqualifies him from being their primate. They will have nothing to do with him, not even will they join in a mission to spread the Gospel among the Angles.[5] Between the lines of the narrative is to be seen a stubborn national spirit which was largely anti-Catholic in its tendencies. Bede remarked that the Britons were accustomed to hold as nought the religion of the Christian Angles, and treated them just as if they were heathens. We shall find the same traits in the Breton church a century or two later; an indication of relationship corroborative of the migration.

For some documentary evidence of the fact of the migration let us consult the pages of Gildas. By his own account he was born in the year of the battle of Mount Badon, the date of which was 493, according to M. de la Borderie's

[5] Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, ii. 2 (*Mon. Hist. Brit.*, 150).

computation.[6] His father was Caunus or Caw, a prince of the Strathclyde Britons, who held his court in Arecluta, somewhere on or near the river Clyde.[7] Gildas was sent, when seven years old, to the monastery of St. Illtud or Llanilltyd Fawr, where he was the fellow-pupil of Samson,

[6] See M. de la Borderie's admirable paper in *Revue Celtique*, vi. 1-13. And see note 1 on p. 70, *supra*, and note 9 on p. 76, *infra*.—Ed.

[7] *Arecluta* becomes in later Welsh *Arglud*, which gave its name to the *Silva Arglud*, mentioned in the unprinted *Historia Meriadoci* in MS. Cott., Faustina, B. vi. (written in the early fourteenth century). *Arglud* means 'on (or opposite) the Clyde.' If Mr. Skene's very probable identification of *Mons Bannauc* with the last element of the place-name *Carmunnock*, near Glasgow, is correct, and the *mons* itself identical with the Cathkin Hills, then Caw's kingdom was placed by Welsh tradition in the modern Renfrewshire; for in a legend found in the *Life of St. Cadoc* (see *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 58) Caw's kingdom is placed *ultra montem Bannauc* (see Skene's *Four Books*, i. 173-4). That the *Mons Bannauc* formed an important political frontier is shown both by the above passage, where (*C.-B. Saints*, p. 56) St. Cadoc is said to have come to a certain city *citra montem Bannauc*, and by the passage of *Gorchan Maelderw* (Skene's *Four Books*, ii. 101; and cf. p. 65 top) where "a son of Cian" is said to be "from beyond Bannawg."

Gildas' father is called *Nau rex Scotiæ* by Caradoc of Llancarvan (§ 1), *Navus Rex Pictorum* (answering to the *Cau Pritdin* of the *Life of St. Cadoc, sup. cit.*) by another life, *Can rex Albaniæ* (leg. *Cau*) by John of Tinmouth, as given in Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, fo. 156[a], and *Caunus* (probably a mistake for *Cauu-us*, i.e., *Caw-us*) by the monk of Rhuis; in Welsh he is always called *Caw* or *Cadw*, but the latter form seems due to a confusion with the distinct name *Cadwy* or *Cado* (see note 5 on p. 89, *infra*). As for the form *Nau*, there is no doubt that such a name existed in Welsh and Irish; but here it is probably a mistake in transcribing *Kau*, a name which occurs under the older form *Cavo* on the Llanfor stone. It is not clear how Caw got the name of "Caw of Twrcelyn" (in Anglesey), which is found in *Hanesyn Hen*, pp. 12-13, 46-7, where are also given the names of his seventeen or twenty-one children, some of them daughters, and many of them commemorated as saints in Anglesey. Caradoc gives him twenty-four sons, but the monk of Rhuis only mentions four of his children besides Gildas, three of whom, however, were saints in Anglesey.—Ed.

Paul Aurelian, Maglorius, Lunarius, and our national saint, Dewi, all of whom, except the last, are prominent in Brittany as bishops or preachers. During the life-time of Gildas the Saxons were gradually stretching their dominion to the Dee and the Severn; and about the middle of the sixth century the Cornavii, whose territory lay between the Dee and Severn, and the Dumnonii, who held the present counties of Cornwall, Devon, and Somerset, were beginning to feel the pressure of the invading bands.[8] M. Loth seems rather to have anticipated the date, for he holds that these tribes were attacked as early as the year 509. It is true that the battle of Mount Badon, fought in 493, marks a high point in the tide of the Saxon advance. At that moment the heathen invaders must have made an inroad right across the territory of the Durotriges, towards the eastern border of the Dumnonii; but their defeat threw them back for fifty years.[9] The battles of Searoburh (Old Sarum), Beran-byrig (Barbury Hill, near Swindon), and Deorham (Dyrham, near Bath), took place in the second half of the sixth century.[1] Gildas could not, therefore, have seen the conquest of even the central parts of S. Britain. But he had probably seen many fugitives from the east, and learned from them the overwhelming character of the invasion, and the direfulness of its accompaniments. In the *De Excidio* he commiserates the sufferings of his people, while upbraiding

[8] See note 1 on p. 70, *supra*.

[9] See note 1 on p. 70, *supra*. Mount Badon was probably Badbury Hill in Dorsetshire, not very far from the coast. It is nearly if not quite impossible, for phonetic reasons, that Mons *Badonis* can now be represented (as Mr. Skene thought) by *Bouden* (or *Buden*) Hill in Linlithgowshire.—Ed.

[1] In 552, 556, and 577 respectively. Before the last battle was the battle of Bedford, in 571, which is said to have given the English the country between Bensington on the Thames in Berkshire and Leighton Buzzard (if that be the place meant by *Lygeanbyrig*) in Bedfordshire.—Ed.

them for the vices for which those sufferings were a divinely ordained penalty. Gildas gives a short history of Britain, the value of which is much diminished by his own confession that he has to depend upon information obtained over the sea, "*transmarina relatio,*" because the ancient writings of his country (*if there were any*, he doubtfully adds) had either been burnt by the enemy, or had been carried far away in the fleet of the exiles.[2] This mention of "exiles" tallies with another passage in the *De Excidio*, which runs as follows :—"Some of these miserable survivors of the British nation were caught in the mountains and slaughtered in their hundreds. Others, spent with hunger, came to the enemy and surrendered themselves as slaves for ever ; if, indeed, they were not done to death there and then—a far more gracious fate. Others made for regions over the sea, with a loud wailing, singing under the swelling sails, instead of a time-song, the refrain 'Thou hast given us like sheep [appointed] for meat, and hast scattered us among the nations.'"[3]

[2] Gildas, *Historia*, § 4: "Igitur . . . illa tamen [*al.* tantum] proferre conabor in medium, quæ temporibus imperatorum Romanorum et passa est et aliis intulit civibus longe positis mala; quantum tamen potuero, non tam ex scripturis patriæ scriptorumve monimentis,—quippe quæ, vel si qua fuerint, aut ignibus hostium exusta, aut civium exsilii [*al.* exsulum] classe longius deportata, non compareant [*al.* comparent],—quam transmarinâ relatione, quæ, crebris irrupta intercapedinibus, non satis claret." It will be seen that Gildas here only refers to events which took place under the Roman emperors, not to events with which he was contemporary or nearly so.—Ed.

[3] Gildas, *Historia*, § 25. The quotation is from Psalm xliv. 11 of the Authorized Version (= xliii. 12 of the Vulgate), and the original of the passage is as follows : "Itaque nonnulli miserarum reliquiarum in montibus deprehensi acervatim jugulabantur; alii fame confecti accedentes, manus hostibus dabant in ævum servituri, si tamen non continuò trucidarentur, quod altissimæ gratiæ stabat in loco; alii transmarinas petebant regiones, cum ululatu magno ceu celeusmatis vice, hoc modo sub velorum sinibus cantantes : 'Dedisti nos tanquam oves escarum, et in gentibus dispersisti nos, Deus.' Alii [a] mon-

These passages give a direct testimony to the fact that there was a migration in consequence of the Saxon inroads;[4] but it was not in accordance with Gildas's general style to specify the land to which his countrymen had fled. He avoids proper names as a rule; and the details which could be verified by means of other accounts are scarce in his writings.

Taking up the slight sketch of his life which we commenced, Gildas remained at Llanilltyd until he was fifteen years of age. He then (says one of his biographers, the monk of Rhuis) went to Gaul, and after seven years' sojourn in that country he returned to Britain with a great pile of books; for he had been imbued by his master Illtud, him-

tanis collibus, minacibus præruptis vallati [*al.* vallatis] et densissimis saltibus, marinisque [*al.* marisque] rupibus vitam, suspecta [*al.* suspectam] semper mente, credentes, in patria licet trepidi perstabant."—Ed.

[4] See note 1 on p. 70, and pp. 74-7, *supra*. Additional evidence of the migration is furnished by Gildas' contemporary Procopius, who obviously means some part of Britain by *Brittia*, though he duplicates the island into two, *Brittia* and *Brettania*; possibly by the former he meant Lower, by the latter Upper, Britain, and believed the Bristol Channel to be a sea dividing the two. The following is the passage of Procopius referred to, taken from *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, lxxxiv.: *Βριττίαν δὲ τὴν νῆσον ἔθνη τρία πολυανθρωπότατα ἔχουσι· βασιλεύς τε εἷς αὐτῶν ἑκάστῳ ἐφέστηκεν. ὀνόματα δὲ κεῖται τοῖς ἔθνεσι τούτοις Ἀγγίλοι τε καὶ Φρίσσονες καὶ οἱ τῇ νήσῳ ὁμώνυμοι Βρίττωνες· τοσαύτη δὲ ἡ τῶνδε τῶν ἐθνῶν πολυανθρωπία φαίνεται οὖσα, ὥστε ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος κατὰ πολλοὺς ἐνθένδε μεταναστάμενοι, ξὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶν, ἐς Φράγγους χωροῦσιν. οἱ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐνοικίζουσιν ἐς γῆς τῆς σφετέρας τὴν ἐρημοτέραν δοκοῦσαν εἶναι.*

"Three very numerous nations possess Brittia, over each of which a king presides; which nations are named Angili, Phrissones, and those surnamed from the island, Brittones; so great indeed appears the fecundity of these nations, that every year vast numbers, migrating thence with their wives and children, go to the Franks, who colonize them in such places as seem the most desert parts of their country."

Presumably Procopius refers to the *Bajocassini Saxones* (see Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum*, v. 26, x. 9) or Saxons of Bayeux, who were settled there before 578. Is it possible that any of these Saxon colonies of early France were in any way the result of reverses of the Saxons in S.W. Britain, by which they were driven out of lands that they had conquered?—Ed.

self a renowned scholar, with an insatiable thirst for knowledge, which he had apparently gone abroad to gratify.

In following the remainder of Gildas's career we have to choose between two distinct lives, one written by Caradoc of Llancarvan in the twelfth century, the other by a monk of Rhuis (near Vannes, in Brittany) in the eleventh. Caradoc relates that Gildas undertook the charge of the monastery at Nantcarvan for a year at the request of Cadoc the abbot. At the expiration of that time they agree to live a secluded life for a season, and Gildas establishes himself on a small island called Ronech, Cadoc on another close by called Echni;[5] these are identified as the islands now

[5] "Ronech et Echni" is the reading of the 13th-century text of Caradoc's *Life of Gildas*, in the Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. No. cxxxix., which Stevenson, taking his text from the Burney MS. 310, written in 1381 (at least a century later than the Corpus MS.), collated with another MS. of the 16*th* century (Royal MS. 13 B. vii.), thought it unnecessary to collate on account (he says) of the close agreement of the C.C.C.C. MSS. with the texts used by him!

The C.C.C.C. MS. (for facsimile copies of most of the proper names in which we are indebted to the Rev. F. L. Denman, of C.C.C.C. and of Oundle, Northants) reads (besides *Echni* for *Echin*, § 9) *maritimam* for *maritamaneam* (§ 4) of the printed text, *Trifuni* for *Trifini* (§ 4; = *Triphun map Clotri*, Harl. MS. 3859 in *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 171); *Mynau* for *Minau* (§ 5; = Welsh *Manaw*); *Ierosolimam* for *Hierosolymam* (§ 7); *Gualiam* for *Gualliam* (§ 7); *Gualie*. *Gildaf* (*sic*) for *Walliæ*, *Gildas* (§ 9); *Meluas* for *Melvas* (§§ 10, 11); *Guennimar* for *Guennuvar* (§ 10; for *Guennimar* read *Guenuimar* = *Gwen(h)wyfar*); *Cornubie et Dibnenie* for the loathsome gibberish *Corunbiæ et Dibueniæ* (§ 10; *Dibnenie* = **Dibnennie*, for an older **Dibnenti-e* = *Dyfneint*); *Glastigberi* (with the *e* inserted above the line) for *Glestingberi*, and *Glastigberia* for *Glastiberia* (§ 14). Lastly, the verses given in a note on § 13 as concluding the Life in Archbishop Ussher's MSS. also conclude it in the C.C.C.C. MS., but read *Nancarbanensis* for *Lancarbanensis*, *emendat* for *emendet*, and *illi* for *ille* (which last won't scan). All the above readings of the printed text (exclusive of the verses) purport to be those of the Burney MS., except *Guennuvar*, which is from the Royal MS. (the Burney MS. here reading *Guennimar* with the Corpus MS.), and *Gualliam*, for which the Burney MS. has *Galliam*.

known as Steep Holm and Flat Holm, near the south coast of Glamorgan. Gildas, spending his time in prayer and fasting, is so unfortunate as to attract the attention of a band of pirates, who rob him of his servants and his humble furniture, and make his further residence on that desolate spot impossible. He takes refuge, not at Nantcarvan, as one would have expected, but in the much more distant monastery of Ynys Gutrin (Glastonbury), where he died some time after. In Caradoc's narrative there are some interesting notices of King Arthur, which show him in rather an unheroic, if not in a commonplace aspect. This is in favour of the antiquity of the materials from which Caradoc derived his account,[6] but the *finale* is

From the above it may be gathered how far Mr. Joseph Stevenson's statement of the close agreement of the Corpus and Burney MSS. of the Life is a true statement; and how far the enunciation of such statement is consistent with the hypothesis that he had himself ever looked at the Corpus MS.

The Corpus MS. agrees with the Burney MS. in reading *Pepidiauc* (§ 4), *Hueil* (§ 5), *cadentia* and *Guennimar* (§ 10), and *Ynisgutrin* (§ 14).

We may add that *Echni* is the reading of the MS. in the passage printed in *Lib. Land.*, p. 127; and that *Ronech* (Flat Holme), which seems to stand for *Ronec*, i.e., '(The Isle) of Seals,' is called "(insula) *Rore*" in the *Life of St. Malo* (preserved in Royal MS. 13. A. x., of the 11th century, and Bodley MS. 535), chap. 12. and "insula quæ *Reoric* nominatur" in Florence of Worcester under the year 915 (*Mon. Hist. Brit.*, 570D); the corresponding passage in the C.C.C.C. MS. of the *Saxon Chronicle* calls the island *Bradan-relic*, a name also occurring in another MS. of the Chronicle under the year 1067 as *Bradan-reolic*. In the first of these passages of the *A.-S. Chronicle*, the other MSS. have *Steapan-reolic* (i.e., Steep Holm) for *Bradan-relic;* is this *Relic* or *Reolic*, applied to both the islands, like *Rore* and *Reorig* cited above, a phonetic modification of *Ronec?* *Ronec* would be *Roneg* in modern Welsh, in which we only have *moelron* for 'a seal,' though in Irish the simple *rón* is still the term in ordinary use.—Ed.

[6] This antiquity is especially confirmed by the fact that he makes

not trustworthy, and is supposed to be an interpolation in the interests of the monastery which claimed to be the place of Gildas's death. The Breton biographer, on the contrary, places the latter half of Gildas's life in the south of Brittany, where he again appears as a lover of solitude, his asylum this time being the island of Houat, one of a small group near Quiberon. He was, however, allowed to enjoy his pious retirement but for a short while. His fame as a saint and

(§§ 10, 11) the Melwas of genuine Welsh tradition assume the *rôle* which in the Romances (which must have been current in some shape in Caradoc's age) belongs to Lancelot or Modred. Mr. Skene's statements in *Celtic Scotland*, i. 117, by which he tries to prove that the Welsh Life was and the Breton Life was not influenced by Geoffrey of Monmouth, are simply untrue. It is *not* true that the Welsh Life "*transfers* Gildas' birth to Strathclyde," for the Breton Life had already said that he was born in "Arecluta, which took its name from the river Clut" (see note 7 on p. 75 *supra*), by which the Clwyd can hardly be meant, as is imagined by Mr. Skene. Nor is it true that the acts of the Welsh Life "identify Cuillus [of the Breton Life], his father's eldest son, with Geoffrey's Howel, king of Alclyde." They call Cuillus (§ 5) *Hueil* (and he is called the same in *Kulhwch ac Olwen*, Oxford *Mabinogion*, 107, 109, and in *Hanesyn Hén*, pp. 13, 46); and the identification of this perfectly distinct name with *Hywel* is due not to Caradoc, but to John of Tinmouth (see Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, fo. 156[b]) and to ignorant transcribers of or commentators on Caradoc. Nor was Geoffrey's Howel "king of Alclyde;" his only connection with that place was that he stayed there whilst invalided, and was besieged there by the Picts and Scots (Bk. ix. chaps. 3, 5); and he is always called by Geoffrey (see ix. 12, 16, 19; x. 6; xi. 1) the king or duke of the Armorican Britons. He was (ix. 2) the son of a certain Dubricius king of Brittany, and Arthur's nephew and companion in arms, and his death is not mentioned; whereas Caradoc's Huail was son of Caw, and killed by Arthur in the Isle of Man, a place not mentioned in connection with Geoffrey's Howel. So much for Mr. Skene's special pleading. If "Howel" is identifiable with any figure of genuine Welsh tradition, it is with Hywel ab Emyr Llydaw. We may add that in *Kulhwch*, p. 109, we are told of the cause of the quarrel between Huail and Arthur; and that Geoffrey does not so much as mention either Huail or Caw.—Ed.

scholar had preceded him; and he was induced to come to the mainland, where, on the peninsula of Rhuis, his first monastery was founded.[7] This was, there is no doubt, a copy of similar institutions in Britain. The buildings of a British monastery are supposed to have been of wood. The church, refectory, and the other offices, with the monks' cabins, each of which was separate, formed a quadrangle, while in the interior of the enclosure was situated the abbot's residence on a slight elevation. The whole was surrounded by a rampart and fosse, and at some distance were scattered some smaller cabins for solitary retirement, when such was desired for a season. To erect a monastery was not a work of expense or difficulty, and there is no occasion for surprise in the frequency of these institutions and the large number of monks contained in some of them, as in the well-known example of Bangor Is Coed.[8] Gildas died at the island of Houat in 570, after an active life, which was not by any means confined to the narrow sphere of the monastery which he founded at Rhuis. Other establishments in the west, as well as in the south of Brittany claim him as a founder, and he is the patron saint of several churches which bear his name.

This solitary case of a Briton passing over to the Armorican peninsula does not go far towards establishing the fact of an extensive migration; but Gildas was not a pioneer. He found a strong colony of Britons already established in a district which came afterwards to be known as *Bro-Waroch*, from Waroc or Waroch, a chieftain who was renowned for his successful resistance to the Franks. Waroch's kingdom, or *comté*, was originally of small dimen-

[7] Now St. Gildas-de-Rhuis. In Breton Gildas is called *Gweltas*.—Ed.

[8] See Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, ii. 2, where he states that the monastery there was said to have been divided into seven *portiones*, none of them containing less than 300 monks.—Ed.

sions, stretching from the river Ellé to the inlet known as Morbihan or 'The Little Sea'; but under his aggressive rule its bounds were pushed eastwards as far as the Loire.

The dialect spoken in some parts of the district of Guérande (on the right bank of the Loire, near its mouth) is still Vannetais Breton.[9] Gregory of Tours (in his *Historia Francorum*, written about the end of the sixth century) gives an account of Waroch's exploits, which may be assigned to the last quarter of the sixth century.[1] In the Breton life of Gildas the saint has relations with a prince named Waroch, whose identity with the above hero is not quite certain, as the latter seems to have flourished a little too late to have been contemporaneous with Gildas.

M. Loth thinks it probable that the colonists of Browaroch might have come from Wales.[2] The Vannetais dialect differs from those spoken in Cornouaille, Léon, and Tréguier in having, among other peculiarities, the form of comparison in *-et* which is also found in Welsh.[2a] On the neighbouring island of Belle-Isle there is a parish called Bangor.[3]

[9] The allusion is to the Breton of the Bourg de Batz, still spoken by a few hundred people isolated in the midst of a French-speaking population; no other Breton is now spoken south of the river Vilaine or in the department of Loire-Inférieure.—Ed.

[1] See *Historia Francorum*, v. 26 (A.D. 578), ix. 18 (A.D. 587), x. 9, 11 (A.D. 590), for his exploits. In x. 9 he offers his "nepos" as a hostage, and places his son Canao in command of an army; at v. 16 (A.D. 577) his father Macliavus' death is mentioned. (See, too, Gregory's *Liber in Gloria Martyrum*, 60.) Gildas died in 570.—Ed.

[2] It has been suggested with some probability that Riothimus' 12,000 Britons, or some of them, were the original settlers in the Vannetais, or rather in the neighbourhood of Guérande (*Gwen-ran*). —Ed.

[2a] See *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 272-3.

[3] We may here mention that there is no evidence known to us that *Bangor* was in genuine Welsh a generic term for a monastery of any

All the direct historical evidence bearing on the migration comes to us through the lives of saints. The oldest MSS. giving these are not older than the tenth century, leaving a considerable gap to be bridged; but some of them can be proved, or at least strongly presumed, to have been copied from much more ancient documents, so that we are practically brought within reach of the actual events described. One mark of the antiquity of the matter as opposed to the age of the transcription may be the form assumed by the proper names in the MS. It is known when the *p*, *k* and *t* were first softened, when the final vowel in the first part of a compound word was dropped. If a MS. gives *Catoc* for *Cadog*, or *Arthimaglus* for *Arthmail*, the date may be asserted to be prior to the eighth century.[4]

sort. No use of the word in this sense can be found before the comparatively late class of documents of which so many are printed in the *Iolo MSS.*; nor was *bangor* (in this sense) the only word that the writers of those and similar documents, who apparently lived between 1500 and 1700, deliberately concocted and added to the Welsh language. The last part of *Bangor* (a name which occurs *four* times in Wales, and sometimes, as on the Teifi and Rheidol, at places where no monasteries are known to have existed) is believed by Professor Rhys to be from the same source as the Irish *cuirim* 'I put or place.' The word *bangor*, in the sense of 'the top row of wattles in a wattled fence,' is still in use under the form *mangors* (with the English plural termination) at Gwynfe in Carmarthenshire, and from it is derived a verb *bangori*, also in use there, but corrupted by false analogy into *blân-gori*. These words are unknown near Llandovery, where *pleth-wrysg* or *pleth y wrysgen* is used for *bangor* or *mangors*.—Ed.

[4] In Britain these names in *-maglus* must have been pronounced *-mail* by the time of Bede, who died in 734, for in the eighth-century MSS. of his works (*Hist. Eccl.*, ii. 2) we find the form *Brocmail* for a name which is written *Brohomagli* on the stone at Voelas.

An older form of the name *Briafael* (see note 6 on p. 92, *infra*) than any hitherto recorded occurs on a stone discovered last autumn at Chesterholm on the Roman wall, and reading "Brigomaglos iacit . . . cus," figured in the Proceedings of the Newcastle-on-Tyne Antiquarian Society, vol. iv. (1889), p. 172, whence the cut is reproduced in *Revue Celtique*, xi. 344. The name occurs in a later form

By this kind of test the *cartulaires* of Redon and Landévennec are found to possess a special value.[5] The *Cartulaire de Landévennec* is chiefly interesting in containing the life of Winualoë, or Gwennolé.[6] It was composed

in the inscription on the stone at Llandyfaelog Fach in Breconshire, "Briamail Flou." Another later-Old-Welsh form was *Bramail*, occurring in a ninth-century entry in the *Book of St. Chad* at Lichfield and also in the *Liber Landavensis*, the exact modern continuator of which is found in *St. Bravel's*, the local pronunciation of St. Briavel's in Gloucestershire. The modern literary form *Briafael* occurs in the name of a place called *Kelli Uriauael*, mentioned in the *Englynion y Beddau* (*Black Book of Carmarthen*, fo. 34[a], Skene's *Four Books*, ii. 32).

As to these forms *-magl* and *-mail*, cf. also note 2 on pp. 246-7 of *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. x.—Ed.

[5] I have had the opportunity of looking at the printed editions of these MSS. through the kindness of a fellow-Cymmrodor, Mr. Llywarch Reynolds, of Merthyr, who has also placed me under a great obligation by lending me nearly all the other books which I have used.

[6] It is not generally known that there is a church possibly dedicated to this saint in Wales, viz., Wonastow, near Monmouth (locally pronounced *Winnastow*), anciently (see *Liber Landavensis*, p. 191) called *Lannguarui* (that, or *Lannguariu*, is the reading of the MS., though the printed text alters it into *Lann Gungarui*), and still called in Welsh, by one of the few remaining Welsh-speaking natives of central Monmouthshire, *Llanwarrw;* thus the English would appear to have preserved the first, the Welsh the last part of the saint's name. In his *Additional Notes to the Liber Landavensis* (p. 11, top), the late Mr. Thomas Wakeman says that "Wonostow is called in old writings Llanwarrow, Walwaristow, Wonewalstow, and Owenstow;" we think, however, that the last name is equivalent to the *Owenstowne* of Additional Charter 7156 at the British Museum, and an English translation of the well-known *Treowen*, near Wonastow. *Lann Guorboc* (the place on whose name Mr. Wakeman's note is written, *Lib. Land.*, 153–4) is certainly not Wonastow; it is in Erging, not in Gwent uwch Coed, *Guorboc* being a scribal error for *Guorboe*, and the place meant being the church of *Garway* in Herefordshire, spelt *Garewy* in what is described as a continuation of Matthew of Westminster in Royal MS. 14, C. vi., fo. 255[a], col. 2, where one "Thomas de *Garewy* iuxta Grossum Montem" (i.e., Grosmont) and his brother Stephen are mentioned. In modern literary Welsh the name *Gurboe* would be *Gwrfwy*.—Ed.

about 880 A.D. by a monk called Wrdisten. He is very particular to state that he has copied whatever seemed to him most accurate and trustworthy in "memorials left by our fathers of worthy and venerable memory," and that he has discarded all old wives' fables. His standard of what constitutes fable is not ours, but we can give him credit for speaking the truth according to his lights, and this cannot be said of most monkish biographers.

Wrdisten expressly states that it was a matter of common belief in his time that the Britons came to Armorica during the Saxon invasion, and in consequence of it, and of another calamity, the plague, which was simultaneously ravaging the unhappy island. He largely quotes Gildas, and supplies the missing link in the narrative of the latter; for he mentions the countries to which the refugees repaired, viz., his own country, the lesser Britain, Ireland, and the Belgian territory: but very few went to the two last, "pauci et multo pauci."

It appears from the life of Winualoë that this saint founded the monastery of Landévennec, and was the son of a certain Fracan, one of the kings of the isle of Britain, who landed with his family at Bréhec, near the present town of St. Brieuc. He established in the neighbourhood, which was covered with forests and quite uninhabited, a little collection of homesteads, to which was given the name of *Plou Fragan*. It should be remarked that the word *plou*, which is the equivalent of the Welsh *plwyf*,[7] is not found in any Welsh or Cornish place-names, but in Brittany over 200 parishes are designated by names which commence with it. They were all probably formed by petty princes, who brought with them their families and dependents—the elements of a small patriarchal society. By degrees these

[7] It is a loan-word from Lat. *plebs*, *plebis*.—ED.

would unite and form a *comté* or kingdom for greater security.

Fragan and his wife Gwen (to return to Wrdisten's account) had two sons, and as the colony prospered, the worthy couple desired to have a third son in order to express the figure of the Holy Trinity. The pious wish was soon granted. The representative of the Third Person was Winualoë, the future founder of the abbey of Landévennec. When he reached the age of manhood he crossed over Domnonia with eleven companions, to the edge of the inlet now known as the *Rade de Brest;* and there on a small island he founded his abbey, called, according to M. de la Borderie, *Lan-tevenec,* because of its well-sheltered site.[8]

The biographer, in completing the account of Winualoë's career, introduces the reader to the third of the divisions of Brittany, *Cornubia,* now *Cornouaille,*[9] of which Grallon was the first king. Grallon comes to visit Winualoë when the fame of the saint had reached him. The interview convinces him so thoroughly of Winualoë's saintliness and spiritual insight, that he constitutes him his guide and mentor for the rest of his life, and supports him in organizing an ecclesiastical system through Cornouaille. Hence ultimately the diocesan district, which has for its centre the present cathedral city of Quimper (= *Cymmer*).[1]

[8] "*Lan,* église ou monastère; *téven,* abri; le *locus apricus* de Wrdisten n'en est que la traduction." But "apricus" conveys almost the opposite meaning to 'sheltered,' viz., 'open to the sunshine,' and this sense would, as Mr. Phillimore points out to me, be given by the Welsh *tywynnog.*

[9] *Kerné* in modern Breton; but the old form (answering to Cornish *Curnow,* Old-Welsh *Cornou,* later *Corneu*) survives in the French name of the little town of *Concarneau,* called in Breton *Conk Kerne*—presumably to contrast it with *Le Conquet,* near Brest, which they call *Conk Leon.*—Ed.

[1] From the meeting of the Odet and the Steir in the city; so *Quimperlé* is for *Kemper Ellé,* being situate at the meeting of the

M. de la Borderie wishes to prove that Fracan was one of the early settlers, and rests his case upon the following quotation from Wrdisten:—"Inter hæc autem vir quidam illustris . . ., nomine Fracanus, Cathouii regis Britannici viri secundum seculum famosissimi consobrinus, . . . Armoricam, rate conscensa, aggreditur, enatato cum paucis ponto Britannico, tellurem."[2] From the context it would appear that "inter hæc" must refer to the Saxon invasion and the pestilence which accompanied it. The emigration commenced, therefore, according to M. de la Borderie, about 450-70; for he identifies the plague with one which, from Gildas's account, appears to have followed the attacks of the Picts and Scots, and not with the plague of 545. The ground is here rather uncertain, for MM. de la Borderie and Loth both make a point of the connection between the names *Cornubia* and *Domnonia* and the names of the British tribes similarly designated. It is assumed, since the northern and western divisions of Brittany bore these titles, that they must have been colonized by the Cornavii and Dumnonii respectively.[3] As has been shown in an earlier

Ellé and Isole, the united stream or estuary below the confluence being known as the Laita. The word *Kemper* is, we believe, now completely obsolete in the Breton language, where, according to the dictionaries, *aber* would be used for a *cymmer*, or confluence of two approximately equal streams.—Ed.

[2] See the quotation given from the *Cartulary of Landévennec* by the late M Le Men in *Arch. Camb.* for 1864 (3rd Series, vol. x.), p. 41. This saint's Life has been printed from this and other MSS. in the *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. vii.; one of the MSS. is in the British Museum (Cott. Otho D. viii., fos. 86b–95a), and reads (fo. 87a, col. 1) *Cathouij* in the passage quoted above.—Ed.

[3] Professor Rhys once told us that he suspected the true form to be *Cornovii;* a sepulchral slab to one *Ccornovia*, found at Ilkley, is figured in the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, xl. 424 (part iv., 1884).

It seems to us a far-fetched hypothesis to assume that Cornouaille, or *Kerne*, took its name from the almost entirely inland tribe of the

part of the paper,[4] the above tribes could not have felt the stress of the Saxon invasion before the middle of the sixth century at the earliest. Yet Grallon is described by Wrdisten as "Moderator Cornubiorum."

The Britons living in the east and south-east of the island might have commenced to take refuge in Armorica any time after 450 A.D. The migration probably took place in successive waves. The Dumnonii and Cornavii, having the longest warning, were able to leave Britain more nearly in tribal formation than their predecessors, and, arriving perhaps in stronger numbers, at once established their predominance in the districts which bore their names. As for Wrdisten's use of these names, it was possibly determined by the habit of his own time, so that Fracan's place in the migration may still be preserved.[5]

Cornavii, when opposite Brittany there was the seafaring population of *Cernyw* or Cornwall. The uncritical stuff which M. de la Borderie talks about the Welsh Triads in his *Les Véritables Prophéties de Merlin* shows that he can't have studied them; if he had, he would have seen that Penryn Awstin or Aust Cliff (spoken of in one of them as being opposite Aber Taroci, or the mouth of the Troggy Brook in Monmouthshire) is there defined as being *in Cernyw*. See *Red Book Triad* No. 56, in *Y Cymmrodor*, iii. 61, vii. 131; Triad No. xxiii. of the Hengwrt MSS. 54-536 collection (see Skene's *Four Books*, ii. 458-60). This looks rather as if *Cernyw* or **Cornovia* was the ancient name for the whole promontory south of the Severn estuary and west of Gloucester.

We think that we need not invoke the *conquests* of the West Saxons to account for the *earlier* stages of the Breton migration. The incursions and devastations of the Saxons, Picts, and Scots began in A.D. 360; and these, coupled with the break-up of the Roman Empire and the withdrawal from Britain of the Roman forces, must have caused a break-up of the social organization over all or most of the more civilized parts of Britain. Then, as to actual war, what did the non-Romanized inhabitants of Britain ever do but cut each other's throats whenever they had no common enemy to contend against or were not kept under by some very strong hand?—ED.

[4] See p. 70 *supra*, and note 1 thereon; also pp. 74—7, *supra*.

[5] Prof. Renan, when he received the members of the Cambrian

Wales seems to have produced a plentiful supply of saints and bishops in those days, and could afford to export a surplus to the newly-formed colony of Britons in Armorica.

Archæological Association at his house at Perros Guirec in August, 1889, informed them that his ancestors came over with Fracan; and he named Cardigan as the quarter from which they hailed, on what grounds it did not appear. [See *Arch. Camb.*, 5th Series, vol. vii. (No. 26), p. 171.

M. Renan can have had no solid grounds for his assertion. The saint who came from Ceredigion or Cardigan (he is called *Coriticianæ regionis indigena;* see *Analecta Bollandiana*, ii. 161, &c.) was St. Brieuc. But Fracan is stated in the extract from St. Winwalwy's Life given *supra* (p. 88), to have been cousin to a king called *Cathouius*, who is certainly identical with Cadwy the son of Geraint, who ruled in South-Western Britain, not Wales. He is mentioned—

(1) In the *Life of St. Carantoc* (or Carannog), where (*Cambro-British Saints*, p. 99) it is said, *apropos* of an episode relating to the foundation of Crantock church in Cornwall, that "at that time *Cato* and Arthur ruled in that country, living at Dindraithov," a place known from Cormac's *Glossary*, s.v. *Mug-eime*, to have been in *Cernyw*. *Dindraithov* is the reading of the MS. (Cott., Vesp. A. xiv., fo. 93[b]), misprinted *Dindrarthou;* it is the *Cair Draitou* of the Nennian *Catalogue of Cities* (see *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 183), and Cormac calls it *Dinn Tradui* (= the Welsh *Dindraethwy*).

(2) In the *Genealogy of St. Winnoc* ("ex MS. S. Vedasti," believed now to be in the public library at Arras), quoted by Dom Morice, *Preuves*, i. col. 211, where he is called *Cathov filius Gerentonis.*

(3) In No. X. of the genealogies from Jesus Coll. MS. 20 (*Y Cymmrodor*, viii. 86), where he is called *Cado mab Gereint mab Erbin;* Cado's son *Peredur*, there mentioned, seems to appear in *Kulhwch ac Olwen* (Oxford *Mabinogion*, 108, 2) under the strange guise of *Berth Mab Kado*, where we suspect the scribe had before him some such form as (*i* or *o*) *bereth'*, the *-ur* being expressed by the usual contraction for those letters.

(4) In the same tale (106, 21) and in *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* (159, 27) he appears in *ac Adwy mab Gereint*, a scribe's error in transcribing *a Cadwy m. G.*

(5) In No. 90 of the Triads collected from various MSS. by Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt (*Myv. Arch.*, ii. 19, col. 1), where *Gadwy* (leg *Cadwy*) *fab Gereint* is said to have been one of the three men (*al.* the three in Arthur's court) who were best towards guests and strangers

The fact that Illtud, the master and trainer of so many British ecclesiastics, was himself born in Brittany, may have determined some of them to go thither. One of the most illustrious of these is Samson. While at Llanilltyd he is consecrated a bishop for his piety and good works, and soon afterwards he received an angelic command "to depart from the land and his kindred; for he was predestined to be a magnificent founder of monasteries beyond sea, and a glorious governor among the people." He tells Dubricius, the Archbishop, that he has been divinely ordered to proceed to the Armorican territory of the British race; and the Archbishop consents all the more willingly (if a mutilated passage is correctly interpreted) because Samson knew the language of the country. Samson founded the monastery of Dol, which was soon made the centre of a diocese.

Teilo pays a visit to Brittany, with all his clergy and

(*osp a phellenig*). This Triad is not in the 13th-14th century collections which are preserved to us.

The names *Cado* and *Caw* were early confused, as is mentioned in our note 7 on p. 75 *supra*. Thus in *Kulhwch ac Olwen* Caw is called *Kado o prydein* at 123, 1, and *Kaw o brydein* at 142, 23, where *Brydein* is the usual Middle-Welsh corruption of *Brydyn* (probably arising from the fact that *Prydein* and *Prydyn* were or might be both anciently spelt *Priten* or *Preten*), Caw being correctly called *Cau Pritdin* in the *Life of St. Cadoc* (*Cambro-British Saints*, p. 58). (In Skene's *Four Books*, ii. 150, it seems tolerably clear that, for the sake of the internal rhyme, *prydein* must be altered to *prydin* = *Prydyn*, to rhyme with *eidin*, which *certainly* = *Eiddyn* [not *Eiddin*]. Similarly, just below, *ysc6n* is probably to be amended to *yscyn*.) Then, in the old *Bonedd y Saint*, Gwrei and Gildas are called "the sons of *Caw*" in the Llanerch MS., in Hengwrt MS. 536, and in the "Book of Burgh of Mawddwy"; but in the Hafod MS. (see *Myr. Arch.*, ii. 25) sons of *Cadw*. *Cado* was also adopted in Welsh (comparatively late) to represent the Latin *Cato*, who is called *Cado Hen* in *Red Book Triad* No. 3. (See *Y Cymmrodor*, iii. 53 Oxford *Mabinogion*, 297; and cf. *llyuyr Cado* in Skene's *Four Books*, ii. 226.)—Ed.]

people, to escape from the plague, presumably that which ravaged the island in the middle of the sixth century, and returns when the danger is past.

Cadoc's visit was also of short duration. An interesting account of the church of St. Cado, on a small island off the south coast of Brittany,[6] and of the memorials of the saint which are contained therein, will be found in *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 5th series, vol. vii. (No. 25), pp. 72-4. Maclovius[7] (Malo) was already bishop in the land of Gwent before he left these shores, and founded the monastery of Lann-Aleth.[8]

[6] The Breton forms of this saint's name, *Cado*, *Cazou*, *Cazout*, do not correctly represent the Welsh *Cadoc*, which is found in the name *Pleucadeuc*. We believe *Cado* and *Cazou* to be cut down from the name *Catbodu* (which would now be *Cadfoddw* in Welsh), stated in the chapter of the *Life of St. Cadoc* (*Cambro-British Saints*, p. 69) where the foundation of the *monasterium* on the island in question is described, to have been the name that the Bretons gave to St. Cadoc; the name of the island is there said to be *Inis Cathodu*. St. Cadoc's proper name (see *op. cit.*, pp. 25, 27-8) was Cadfael, and he is regularly called so in Irish hagiological literature. (See for instance the Life of his disciple St. Finnian of Clonard in Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, i. 393, where will be found the remarkable legend, omitted in St. Cadoc's Life, of the miraculous drying up of the lake on whose site Llancarvan and another *villa* called *Melboc* or *Melboi* were to stand.) *Cadoc* is a diminutive formed from the first element of *Cadfael* (in Old-Welsh *Catmail*) by the addition of the suffix *-oc*, exactly in the same way as *Brioc* (now *Brieuc*) was formed from *Briomaglus* (now *Briafael*). (See note 4 on p. 84 *supra*.) Probably the Breton name for the saint simply arose from an arbitrary substitution of *-boddw* for *-mael* as the second element of his name.

There was a life of St. Cado preserved in Brittany, which has now unfortunately disappeared. (*Cartulary of Quimperlé* in the Paris *Bibliothèque Nationale*, MS. No. 5283, p. 79; cited by Loth in his *L'Émigration bretonne en Armorique*, p. 244.)

[7] The names given in the old Lives of St. Malo are *Machutus*, *Machu*, and *Maclou*. The exact relation between them is not clear; *Malo* comes, of course, from the last of them.—Ed.

[8] The city of *Aleth* stood on the promontory, now called *La Cité*, which juts out from the town of St. Servan into the estuary of the

Other emigrants are Paul Aurelian, with his disciples Tigernomaglus and Cetomerin, Briomaglus or Briocus (St. Brieuc), Tutwal, Gurval, and Ninnoc; but the complete list would be lengthy. M. Loth states that all the Breton saints of the sixth century are either emigrants or the sons of emigrants. He shows also that the Breton bishoprics, with the exception of Nantes, Rennes, and Vannes, were founded by British emigrants and developed from the monasterial system peculiar to Britain. These new bishops, for a considerable time, held aloof from the councils of the province, and behaved much in the same way as the early British bishops with regard to the questions of the tonsure and the date of Easter. There was a tendency to decline co-operation with the dominant church, and a jealous watchfulness was maintained against interference with the peculiar customs which, as it is presumed, the emigrants brought with them from Britain.

As to the extent of territory which was covered by the settlement, it may be determined by an examination of the names in various parts. In that part of the peninsula which would be cut off by a line from St. Brieuc to the mouth of the Vilaine the place-names are Breton, and this region may probably be taken as corresponding with the area in which the Britons were so densely settled as to obliterate the traces of the original Gallo-Roman inhabitants, who, if not exterminated in the struggle for supremacy, were probably speedily merged in the greater mass of their conquerors.[9]

Rance. On the neck of the peninsula is a church still called *Notre-Dame-d'Aleth*. The form *Kidaleta* (urbs) in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History*, xii. 4, seems to represent *Civitas Aleth*, or rather *Ciwed Aled* or some such form. St. Germans, in Cornwall, was also called *Lann Aled*.—Ed.

[9] It must not be inferred from this that none of the place-names east of this line (which *substantially* represents the boundary be-

It need not, however, be supposed that the settlement was everywhere made by the force of arms. From some of the incidents in the lives of the saints it may be gathered that large tracts of country in the north and west of Armorica were in a deserted condition,[1] and therefore presented favourable opportunities for the peaceful establishment of saints arriving with large bands of followers, ecclesiastical and lay.

To the east of the boundary given above there is a zone running from north to south in which the names are Gallo-Roman, but show an arrested development towards the

tween the French and Breton languages at the present day; for the exact course of which see Loth's *Émigration bretonne*, p. 193, and Courson's *Cartulaire de Redon, Prolegomènes*, xlv.) are Breton. On the contrary, an examination of the large-scale French Staff Maps (which we have before us as we write, and which are on a somewhat smaller scale than our Ordnance Maps of one inch to the mile) shows us that there is an immense number of Breton place-names, alike of parishes, hamlets, and farms, to the east of this line. The Breton names of the smaller places are very numerous just east of the line, and then the Breton names of all classes gradually thin out eastward till at length we find nothing but French place-names. But along the north of Brittany Breton names occur quite fifty or sixty miles east of the line in question. Round Dinan and St. Malo, for instance (about forty miles east of the line), there is, to say the least, a considerable sprinkling of pure Breton names to be found, both in the names of parishes (such as *Pleudihen, Pleugueneuc, Le Minihic-sur-Rance*) and of smaller places (such as *Coetquen, Dinard, Roténeuf*—correctly *Roténeu*, for an older *Roténeuc*—and another *Minihic*, near Paramé). And further to the east again, such names of parishes as *Ros, Roz, Lanrigan, Trémélheuc, Lanhelin*, and apparently *Baguer, Plerguer, Cuguen*, and *Combron* (the old name of *Combourg*)—some of these quite sixty miles east of the present limits of Breton—tell their own tale. Then south of the Vilaine, Breton names abound in the now French-speaking districts around Guérande, where, says Loth (*Émigration bretonne*, p. 193), Breton was spoken "*il y a un siècle ou deux.*"—Ed.

[1] Cf. the passage from Procopius quoted in note 4 on page 78, *supra*; see also p. 67, *supra*.—Ed.

ordinary North-French form.[2] From this it is concluded that the outer boundary of the zone marks the maximum limit of the Breton territory, from which the Bretons were forced back by the Norman invasion at the commencement of the tenth century, and that between the two lines their tenure had previously been that of a conquering aristocracy, the cultivators of the soil being chiefly of Gallo-Roman extraction.

It might be asked why the emigrants were not known as Cymry; but this name is not met with in any British MS. older than the laws of Howel Dda, and only came into use after the period of the migration.[3]

[2] The reference is to the names in *-ac* found in such abundance in the zone referred to, especially in the neighbourhood of Redon in the southern portion thereof; such as *Messac, Tinténiac*, &c., &c. These names are derived from the ancient Gaulish suffix *-ācum;* now this suffix is *-oc* in Old-Breton (and Old-Cornish), *-ec* or *-euc* in modern Breton (*-ic* in modern Cornish); whilst to the east of the zone where Breton was spoken in the ninth century it has become *-é* or *-ay*, as in *Martigné, Fougeray.* In Welsh it is of course *-og*, anciently *-auc*, and in the oldest monuments *-ōc, -āc* (Loth, *op. cit.*, p. 196-9).

The death-blow to the Breton language in the intermediate zone referred to (in some parts of which we should imagine from a study of the place-names that the Bretons had formed at some time or other a really large proportion of the population) was given by the Norman invasion of the 10th century; for the character and effects of which see Courson's *Prolegomènes*, xliii.—v.

Eastward, again, of this intermediate zone was a large tract conquered by the Bretons, and forming part of Brittany in later times, which seems never to have been anything but Gallo-Roman in race and language. The western limit of the Breton language in the ninth century (i.e., before the Norman invasion) is represented in M. de Courson's admirable map by a line extending from Donges on the estuary of the Loire to the mouth of the Couesnon. The greater part of the departments of Ille-et-Vilaine and Loire-Inférieure is outside this line.—Ed.

[3] It would only be the emigrants into Brittany from Wales or Cumbria who *could* have been known by this name; for there is no evidence that the name *Cymry* ever included the *Cornish*-speaking

It is not, of course, within the scope of my paper to follow the later fortunes of the Lesser Britain, nor even to touch upon the manner in which the several small principalities were brought under the rule of a single king.

Summing up all the evidence, direct and indirect, which has been sketched in the preceding passages, viz., the antecedent probability of the migration, owing to the peculiar state of the countries affected; the statements found in Gildas that many of his countrymen were forced to abandon Britain; the ancient records relating to the departure of individual emigrants from this side of the Channel, and their arrival and settlement on the other; the similarity of the tribal and national names in the fifth and sixth centuries,

peoples of south-west Britain who gave their language, and to a great extent their territorial names (*Cernyw* and *Dyfneint*) to modern Brittany. Linguistic evidence shows that the Welsh-speaking emigrants into Brittany must have been quite a minority in the great mass, though of course they *may* have exclusively occupied certain districts whence their dialect was subsequently ousted by the prevalent one, leaving, perhaps some, perhaps no, trace behind it in the grammar, phonetics, or vocabulary of the modern Breton dialects of the hypothetical districts in question.

The list of the Counts of Cornouaille (preserved, in various forms, in the *Chartulary of Landévennec* and elsewhere) mentions among them (and not among the earliest) one *Diles Heirguor* (al. *Hergu*) *Kembre*, which seems to mean "Diles, the ravager (= *herwr*) of *Cymru* (or the *Cymry*)"; or perhaps *heirguor* may mean rather an outlaw or fugitive, and *Kembre* designates the place of his origin.

In Cornwall the word *Cymry* only occurs as a name for Wales; Lluyd in his *Archæologia Britannica* giving *Kembra* for 'Wales' and *Kambrian* for 'Welsh.' It has been suggested by Norris, *Cornish Drama*, ii. 390, that "kemat [*sic* MS.; leg. *keniat*] combrica*n*" (both contractions in the MS. can be read either *m* or *n*), by which *liticen* is glossed in the *Cornish Vocabulary* of Cott. Vesp. A. xiv., fo. 7^{b}, may mean 'a Welsh singer' (or musician); but in that case the force of the termination *-an* is hardly clear.

For further particulars on the history of the name *Cymry* see note (*a*) at end of article.—Ed.

and the sudden disappearance of the names of the old Armorican states; the existence of a language and system of place-names which have so close an affinity to the British; and finally, the resemblance in the national traditions and the national love of poetry and song, it seems impossible to doubt the main fact of the migration, although some difficult points are left unsolved.

As to the precise date of the migration and the successive stages by which the Breton nation was built up, we must be content with approximate theories. The page of history is, as it were, turned over too abruptly for me to obtain a satisfactory idea of the process. We are shown the final result rather than the mode of growth, although the patient investigation of the authors whom I have so often quoted has thrown some light even on the latter.

NOTE (*a*).

The most ancient use of the older forms of the name *Cymry*, in any composition whose date *in its present form* we can exactly fix, is found in Ethelwerd's *Chronica*, a work written between 975 and 1011. In narrating the ravaging of the territories of the Picts and Cumbrian Welsh by the Danes in 875. Ethelwerd (*Mon. Hist. Brit.*, p. 515) uses the words *Pihtis Cumbrisque;* while in the corresponding passages the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (of which Ethelwerd's compilation is mainly an abridged translation) has "the Picts and Strathclyde Welsh," and Asser (who wrote before 910) "Pictos et Stratcluttenses" (*Mon. Hist. Brit.*, p. 478). Thus it will be seen that to Ethelwerd "Strathclyde Welsh" (or "Strathclyde-men") and *Cumbri* were convertible terms.

The Anglo-Saxon form of *Cumbri* is twice found in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, each time with reference to *Cumbria*, not *Cambria* or Wales. Under the year 945 King Edmund is said to have devastated *Cumbra-land* and handed it over to Malcolm, king of the Scots (by the way, the Scots had established an offshoot of their own dynasty on the throne of Cumbria forty years previously!); here the *Annales Cambriæ*, in narrating the same event, say (see *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 169) "Strat Clut vastata est a Saxonibus." Also, under the year 1000, Ethelred II. is said to have harried nearly all *Cumbraland*. The ancient earldom of Cumbria extended

over districts, such as Galloway, not inhabited by Cymry, and stretched as far south as the river Derwent in the modern county of Cumberland. One authority, indeed, states that Cumbria extended as far as the Duddon, so as to include Copeland; while further east the Scots claimed that it reached as far as Stanmore in Westmoreland (see Skene's *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, 204[1]). Modern Cumberland was formed out of (1) the greater part of the southern fag-end of Cumbria (including Carlisle), which was separated from the rest of the earldom and annexed by William Rufus in 1092, and (2) other districts which did not form part of Cumbria. Writers of guide-books and local historians are apt to assume that the *Cumbraland* of the *A.-S. Chronicle* means the modern Cumberland; they might as well say that ancient Northumbria was equivalent to the modern Northumberland!

Terra Cumbrorum is used for Cumbria by the author of the *Life of St. Cadroe*, ascribed to the 11th century (see Skene's *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, 116[2]); and in the early part of the following century we find Duncan (the father of Malcolm Canmore), who was king of Cumbria, twice spoken of as *rex Cumbrorum*. In the 12th century Jocelyn of Furness, in his *Life of St. Kentigern*, uses for *Cumbria* the variant form of *Cambria* and its derivatives. In chap. xi. he mentions the *regio Cambrensis*, *regnum Cambrense*, and *regio Cambrina* (al. *Cambria*); in chap. xxix. he also speaks of *Cambrina regio*, and of Rederech or Rhydderch Hael, the well-known king who ruled at Alclud or Dumbarton, as reigning over *regnum Cambrinum;* whilst in chap. xxxi., when describing St. Kentigern's return from St. Asaph to Cumbria, he actually speaks of his having arrived "*de Wallia ad Cambriam.*"[3] *Cambria* is also found for the county of Cumberland in a document printed in Skene's *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, p. 230. On the other hand, Ailred of Rievaulx, Jocelyn's contemporary, and the *Chronicle of Carlisle* both call the

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[1] See also *The Lives of St. Ninian and St. Kentigern*, p. 340-1.

[2] Immediately afterwards "Loida civitas" (i.e., Leeds) is mentioned as being the "confinium Normannorum atque Cumbrorum." Here by *Normanni* the Danes are presumably meant, but the statement is a somewhat startling one; for the utmost claims of Cumbria (see the preceding paragraph) in the direction of Leeds are not recorded as reaching further than Stanmore. But perhaps some of the people in the mountainous districts of north-western Yorkshire retained the name *Cumbras* in memory of their origin for some time after their political union with Northumbria?

[3] See *Lives of St. Ninian*, &c., pp. 181—3, 212-3, 216.

earldom *Cumbria*, and the former calls its people *Cumbri;* and David, prince of Cumbria, in his Inquisition into the possessions of the see of Glasgow in 1116, styles himself "princeps *Cumbrensis* regionis," and the country *Cumbria.*

John of Tinmouth's *Life of St. Petroc* (who was a native of Glywyssing in S. Wales), as printed in Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, fo. 266[a], calls him *natione Cumber* (not *Camber*). But there seems to be no *early* use of *Cumbria, Cambria,* or *Cymry* for modern Wales or its inhabitants in any documents preserved to us except in the older Welsh poems and in the Welsh Laws. As to the latter, they date back to the first half of the 10th century, and some passages of the former are probably considerably older, even (if we make allowance for orthographical and grammatical modernizations) in their present form; but it is as a rule impossible to tell exactly which passages either of the Laws or of the poems form part of the original works, and which are added or altered by later editors; for neither Laws nor poems exist now in any MSS. older than the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries.

The same general remark will apply to *Cormac's Glossary*, a work originally composed by Bishop Cormac of Cashel, who was slain in 903, but of which no MS. (except a fragment which is found in the 13th-century *Book of Leinster*) now exists older than the 15th century. Cormac frequently quotes Welsh words, and calls them *Combrec*, i.e., *Cymraeg.* The word occurs under the various forms *Combrec, Combrecc, Combréc,* in the following articles of the *Glossary*, to which references are given from Stokes' *Three Irish Glossaries* for the text, and his *Cormac's Glossary* for the translation: *Brocoit, T.I.G.*, p. 6; *C.G.*, p. 19: *Cruimther, T.I.G.*, 9; *C.G.* 30: *Coinfodorne, T.I.G.*, 13; *C.G.*, 40: *Cuisil, T.I.G.*, 14; *C.G.*, 43: *Salcuait, T.I.G.*, 41; *C.G.*, 151.

Otherwise writers in Irish do not seem to use *Cymry* or its derivatives; and the Irish Annals in their earlier entries speak of the Cumbrian princes as "kings of Alclud" (i.e., Dumbarton), and in their later entries as "kings of the Britons," or "of the northern Britons."

But the facts that the name *Cymry* is of native origin, meaning 'compatriots,' and that it is applied to the Welsh of both Cambria and Cumbria, which had been *finally* separated by the Northumbrian conquests of the latter half of the 7th century, show unmistakably that the name must have arisen as a common national appellation previously to that final separation. Perhaps the name arose during the final national struggle (in which there is every reason to believe that the northern as well as the southern Cymry took part) of the Welsh, in alliance with Penda of Mercia, against the Northumbrian

power, between 632 and 656; but there is no reason why it should not have arisen still earlier, say during the previous contest with Ethelfrith, or even at a yet earlier period when the whole force of the Roman province of Upper Britain may have been united against the invader, before his conquests had reached so far to the west.

For a valuable *résumé* of the history of the words *Cumbria* and *Cumbri*, see Mr. Skene's "Notes on Cumbria" (of which we have made extensive use) in *The Lives of St. Ninian and St. Kentigern*, pp. 330—5. And cf. also Rhys' *Celtic Britain*, 2nd edition, pp. 139—140, 143—4.

To the above notes we should like to add that the adjective *Combronensis* (for which M. Loth suggests in his *Émigration*, p. 89, that one should read *Combrogensis*) also occurs in the *Life of St. Ninnoca*, written in 1130, and preserved in the *Chartulary of Quimperlé* (now, according to M. Loth, the property of Lord Beaumont); of which chartulary good recent copies are to be found in the archives of Finistère at Quimper and in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* at Paris, "Lat., No. 1427" (*Émigration*, pp. 26, 89; but at p. 251 the number is given as 5283, and a reference is also given there to another MS. in the same library, "Franç. 22,321, p. 749"). In this *Life*, printed in *Acta Sanctorum, Junius*, i. 407 (June 4), Brochan, the father of St. Ninnoca, is called "rex Combronensium" and his kingdom "Combronensis regio." We may add that it is pretty clear from the context of the *Life* that St. Ninnoca came from some part of what is now Scotland, or some neighbouring territory, not from modern Wales. Her father Brochan was very probably also the father of the numerous children given in the various texts of *Cognatio de Brychan* to the Welsh Brychan Brycheiniog, but there said to be connected with Cumbria or its neighbourhood, viz., (1) his sons Cynon, Rhun, and Arthen, and his daughter Bathan or Bethan, all said to be commemorated or buried in Manaw or Mannia (by which Manaw Gododin, the well-known district stretching along both sides of the Forth below Stirling, is just as likely to be meant as the Isle of Man); (2) his four daughters who are said to have married northern princes, viz., Gwrygon, wife of Cadrod Calchfynydd, Gwawr, wife of Elidyr Lydanwyn, Nyfain, wife of Cynfarch Gul, and Lluan, wife of the Gafran who died in 558 (see *Annales Cambriæ* in *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 155) and was father to the celebrated Aidan mac Gabran; which Aidan (if we are not mistaken) is said in the *Life of St. Molaise* (or Laisren) to have had a British mother. The statement that Brychan Brycheiniog himself was buried "in insula que uocatur Enysbrachan que est iuxta Manniam" (Cott., Vesp. A. xiv., fo. 11[b] top) or "in Mynav in valle que dicitur vall Brchan" (*sic;* Cott., Domi-

tian, A. i., fo. 158[b]), must needs also refer to a northern, not to a strictly Welsh, Brychan.

We may add that some evidence of the existence of a district called Brycheiniog in southern Scotland is furnished by the occurrence of that name in a list of localities of which all the other identifiable ones are in Scotland, viz., that given in the following passage of the *Book of Taliessin* (Skene's *Four Books*, ii. 150); in which passage we have already suggested (in the note on p. 91, *supra*) that *Prydein* is to be read *Prydin* (i.e., *Prydyn*, 'Pictland') and perhaps *ysc6n yscyn*, for the sake of the internal rhyme :—

"Ym prydein yn eidin yn adeuea6c.
Yggafran yn aduan *brecheina6c.*
Yn erbyn yn ysc6n gaena6c."

Here (over and above the conjectural *Prydyn*) *Eiddyn* can only be the district east of Manaw Gododin, which gave its name to Caer Eiddyn, now Carriden, and Din Eiddyn or Edinburgh (see pp. 50, 51, *supra*); whilst *Gafran* can only mean the territory of the "Cinel Gabran," the clan (descended from the Gafran mentioned above) who occupied Cantire, thence called in Welsh (see *Myv. Arch.*, i. 280[b]) *Pentir Gafran* or 'the headland of Gafran,' shortened into *Pentir* (the exact equivalent of the Irish *Ceann tire*, whence our *Cantire* or *Kintyre*) in the Gododin (Skene, *op. cit.*, ii. 86, 91). As to the *Erbyn* of the passage quoted above, it may perhaps have been the curtailed name of a district, now represented by the last part of the place-name *Lockerbie* in Dumfriesshire; which word, according to this theory, would have lost a final *n* just as have Gowrie, Athrie, Biffie, Altrie,[4] and many other Lowland place-names in *-ie* —Ed.

[4] See *Book of Deer*, vi., li., liii.

ERRATA IN VOL. IX.

P. 158. Note 1 requires some modification. The battle of *Cocboy* or *Chochui*, called in English the battle of Maserfield, the Welsh name of which is there discussed, is called by Cynddelw in the poem of *Can Tyssiliaw* (*Myv. Arch.*, i. 245, col. 1) *Gweith Goguy* 'The Battle of *Coafi* (or *Cogfy ?*)'

P. 298, l. 2 of "MSS. of Dimetian Code," *for* . . . *read* 57.

ERRATA IN VOL. X.

P. 19, l. 1, *for* orm *read* form.

Do., note 8, l. 1, *for* on *read* in.

P. 219, note 1, 4th line from end, delete the full stop after "Wace," and add a full stop after "Bledhgwryd": next line, substitute a comma for the full stop after "*Brut.*"

Y Cymmrodor.

Vol. XI. "Cared doeth yr encilion." Part 2.

THE TRUE OBJECTS OF WELSH ARCHÆOLOGY.

By J. W. WILLIS-BUND, F.S.A.[1]

When I was invited to address this Honourable Society on Welsh Archæology, I felt at first inclined to refuse, on the ground that I was not "sufficient for these things." On reflection, however, I considered that although I should properly be here to-night rather to be taught than even to hope to teach, yet I ought not to decline, for two reasons: in the first place, as I entertain, I dare say wrongly entertain, opinions on certain points of Welsh archæology that are not in accordance with the received ideas, I ought to have the "courage of my convictions," and not be afraid to state my views as to the aims and objects of Welsh archæological research; and, in the second place, as I have the honour of holding the office of Local Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries for South Wales, I should be wanting in my duty if I failed to try to help on, however little, archæological research in Wales, and to give to would-be explorers any aid or assistance in my power. I must, therefore, ask the kind indulgence of this Society, if in what I am about to state I at all run counter to the views of any of the members,

[1] The Inaugural Lecture of the Session 1890-1; read before the Society on Wednesday, December 17th, 1890.

or state nothing but what they already know, and must beg that if we "differ" we may "agree to differ."

It may sound something like a paradox to assert that there is no field of archæological research which is really richer or is more explored but which yields less than Wales and Welsh antiquities. The fault lies more in the mode than in the matter of exploration. Most of the workers have some special reason in view for their search; it may be a desire to make out the grandeur and greatness of what they term the Welsh nation, or to evolve an ideal hero of romance out of an ordinary Welsh chieftain. For each of these classes of searchers Welsh archæology must be barren ground. The Welsh nation, in the modern sense of the term, never existed; so the attempt to prove its grandeur and greatness must necessarily be unsatisfactory, if truth is in any way regarded. As the Welsh chieftain was "half a robber and but half a knight," any attempt to idealize him into a hero, if there is any adherence to accuracy, cannot be a success. Persons who enter upon antiquarian or historical research in order either to support particular views or to maintain particular opinions on special subjects, are foredoomed to failure. It is only to such as seek to ascertain the truth for the truth's sake, without any preconceived theories to maintain or purposes to serve, that antiquarian or historical research is really profitable. To such persons no richer or more tempting field exists than that of Welsh archæology, as almost nothing has been done, and the ground to be worked is most ample. The direction which Welsh archæological research should take, and the results that may be expected to follow from it, form the subject of this paper.

The modern Welsh habit of speaking of Wales as a nation, besides being historically inaccurate, is also objectionable as tending to keep out of sight the real key to all Welsh

history, the fact that it is the history of a number of distinct tribes. In the earliest existing records of Wales traces of the tribe appear, and even at the present day these traces are to be found among the Welsh. One of the primary aims of Welsh archæology should be to work out the history of these tribes. Clan societies exist in Scotland for preserving and publishing the records and history of the clan. Although patriotic Welshmen may deny the tribal theory, they cannot explain away the fact that in all Celtic countries the tribe forms the unit. In Scotland the clan, in Ireland the sept, form the basis of the nationality; and it seems clear that in Wales the unit is the tribe. So far from this being derogatory to the pride of the country, it is the reverse; for the tribe is the distinctive feature of Celtic history, the distinguishing mark of a free, as opposed to a conquered people. The tribe-theory shows a continuous thread running through the history of Wales, and this thread should form the real base from which research should be conducted.

I. Early Inhabitants.

One of the primary and most interesting points of Welsh archæological research is the inquiry into the question as to who were the prehistoric inhabitants of Wales. The most bigoted Welshman will admit that the Welsh of to-day are a race sprung from different stocks. No one could pretend that the red and the black Welshman, or the North and the South Welshman, were sprung from a common ancestor. Who then were their respective progenitors? This it is the object of archæological research to discover. Is it true to say of the Welsh, as we English say of ourselves, "Saxon and Norman and Dane are we," or are the Welsh drawn from yet earlier invaders of these islands? There are plenty of existing data to determine who these early inhabitants were; they only require to be worked up. Beyond

this there is the still more important question: Is any trace to be found of the aboriginal inhabitants of the country? If such trace is to be found anywhere it is in Wales; for as invaders came from Europe the inhabitants would be driven further and further west, so that in the fastnesses of the Welsh hills, if anywhere, remains of the original people must be sought. One object of Welsh archæology should be to make this search. In the numerous Barrows, Cairns, and Stone Monuments that exist on the Welsh hills traces of the early inhabitants may probably be found. All these barrows and cairns require the most careful investigation; as it is from their contents that the early history of the country has to be compiled. In England a good deal has been done in this direction by Canon Greenwell and others. Barrows have been opened and their contents examined and compared; and the result has been that it is possible to assign to their proper period and place many of the barrows, and to say with a fair amount of certainty that a particular race of men made the barrows at a particular time. By comparing the results obtained in different districts it becomes possible to say that a particular tribe of men were found only in particular parts of the country; and so the limits of the territory of a tribe may be to some extent inferred. The same process should be applied to Wales and the same results would be obtained, and the limits of the territory of the early tribes might be in some degree made out. For this purpose there should be a systematic examination of every barrow, cairn, and Stone Monument in Wales. Something has already been done in this direction with regard to the ancient Inscribed Stone Monuments in Professor Westwood's *Lapidarium Walliæ*, and some work has been done by Professor Rhŷs and others towards elucidating Welsh History from the point of view of Philology, aided by the evidence of the barrows and the monumental inscriptions; but there is no

one who has paid any attention to the subject who will not admit that this branch of Welsh archæology has so far been scarcely begun. The work is much needed. In the western extremity of England the barrows and inscribed stones have been carefully examined and the contents of the former classified. The work that Borlase and Lukis have done for Cornwall some competent person should do for Wales. There is, however, need for caution; it would be more than a pity, it would be almost sacrilege, if the work were allowed to fall into incompetent hands. Only those who are experienced in such work can extract from the barrows and cairns all their contents. Workers who are zealous but ignorant destroy or overlook much that is important without knowing it. They displace or fail to note the arrangement or the construction of the barrows, and by not noticing all the contents, or misdescribing what they notice, do far more harm than good. It would be a public misfortune if the examination of the Welsh barrows fell into incompetent hands; for probably evidence as to the early inhabitants of the country which could never be recovered would perish. While, therefore, it is most important that the work should be done, it would be far better that it should remain undone than that it should be done by incompetent or inexperienced hands. If a practical suggestion may be made on the subject, the best course to take would be to prepare a list of all the barrows, cairns, *maenhirs*, mounds and Stone Monuments in Wales, and then let the Cambrian Archæological Association, or some other competent body, arrange for a systematic investigation, in order that the largest possible amount of information might be gained. There is also another reason why it is desirable that the investigation should be undertaken by a public body rather than by an individual. If an individual directs the investigation he usually keeps either the whole or part of whatever

may be found, with the result that the remains are stowed away in his house and in time get lost, broken, or mislaid, or, if preserved, are wholly inaccessible to students, and cannot be examined or utilized as they would be in a public museum. Before any fresh excavations are attempted, some steps should be taken to provide a place to receive the results of the explorations, or, better still, to form a Welsh National Museum, in which it should be a rule, to which no exception should be allowed, that all objects found in Wales should be placed. Such a collection would be of the highest value and interest, while the same objects, scattered here and there about the Principality, would have but little value and less interest. Not only should the contents of barrows and cairns be placed in a Welsh Museum, but it should also contain models of all the Welsh inscribed and sculptured stones. In these Wales is especially rich; and although an attempt has been made to make a list of them in the *Lapidarium Walliæ,* no one would admit more readily than Professor Westwood that a revised list is an urgent need. General Pitt Rivers, the Inspector of Ancient Monuments, has prepared a series of models of some of the Welsh inscribed stones to illustrate the development of the figure of the cross. If this series were extended so as to include every Welsh inscribed stone, a student would be able to study these most important antiquarian monuments. It is by no means clear that a careful examination and comparison of these inscribed stones will not lead to the conclusion that many of them are of a later period than is usually assigned to them; but such a result would also have its value, for on their true date being ascertained their historical importance to some extent depends. If the series of models were extended so as to include the Scotch and Irish stones, to enable these to be carefully compared with the Welsh, important results would doubtless

follow. One of the first aims of Welsh archæology should be to collect, so that it might be utilized by students, all existing evidence, much of which is now inaccessible. If this were done, there can be no doubt that new and important light would be shed on the early inhabitants of Wales, and on other matters of which we are now comparatively ignorant.

II. The Roman Occupation of Wales.

A kindred subject to which Welsh archæology should be specially directed, and one which the work already suggested would help to elucidate, is the details of the Roman occupation of Wales. This is a matter of more than mere antiquarian importance. If the limits of the Roman settlements in Wales were ascertained with precision, a great step would be gained in coming to a conclusion as to whether any parts of Wales could be regarded as free from Roman occupation; if so, it is to such parts, and the relics of antiquity in those parts, that we have to look for traces of the early Celts. But further, the question of the limits of the Roman occupation would throw great light on the question of the extent of the Roman civilization. What was the effect of the Second Legion garrisoning South Wales? what positions did they occupy? how far did they settle the country and—more important than all—how far did they Christianize it?—these are all subjects of the greatest historical importance. No one can pretend that as yet the question of the Roman occupation of Wales has been worked out on a satisfactory basis. It is true that there is plenty of literature with more or less tall writing and conjectures on the subject; but real accurate work, giving the details of what the Romans did, is sadly wanting. Recent excavations at Cardiff have shown that the works of the Romans were adapted by their successors; so that it becomes more than ever necessary accurately

to distinguish between Roman and British work. There is some evidence that in Glamorganshire a high degree of Roman civilization existed; it is important to ascertain how far any such civilization reached beyond the course of the so-called Via Julia. From every point of view, religion, language, civilization, it is important to ascertain with all possible precision the nature and limits of the Roman occupation. There are also such questions as these: Were the camps in North Wales more than forts to protect the mineral works, were they towns as well as camps? Have we to look to Chester, Uriconium, and Caerleon for our knowledge of the domestic life of the Roman settlers? Were Caersws and Loventium also important centres of civil life? Was the country so settled and so secure that the Romans found it safe to live in detached country houses, or were they, from the wildness of the Welsh, compelled to live in stations or camps? At present our knowledge of Roman domestic life in Wales is almost a blank. The excavations now being carried on at Silchester are bringing to light various points as to the condition of a Roman town in Britain. Nothing could be more interesting than that some excavations should be undertaken to ascertain if the Roman houses in Wales resembled or differed from the houses in the other parts of Britain, and how far the appliances of life were similar. It is also more than likely that in an examination of the relics of Roman occupation traces of the Celtic inhabitants will be found, and new light shed on the manners and customs of the country during the Roman period. There has been no lack of Roman houses found in Wales, but these houses have never been systematically examined; they have usually been excavated and destroyed, and all that we might have learnt from them has perished. Recent excavations in England that have been systematically conducted have shown that earthworks which were attributed to a prehistoric period were really of a later

date than the Roman occupation. Whether a like result would follow the examination of Welsh earthworks is questionable. But if by proper excavations an approximate date could be assigned to them, a flood of light would be thrown on Welsh archæology. For instance, the term *Castell* may now mean earthworks of any date from the earliest period to the Norman. If in each instance the real date could be fixed, a most important point would have been settled; very likely it would be found that the same works have been successively occupied by Briton, Roman, Dane, and Norman.

III. The Welsh Church.

The two objects of archæological research already mentioned, although both of great interest and importance, cannot compare either practically or historically with that of the Welsh Church. I use the term advisedly, and with full knowledge that the existence of this Church is denied by superior persons, who tell us that there never was any such Church; that the ecclesiastical establishment in Wales represents, not a Church, but merely four dioceses of the province of Canterbury which form an integral part of the Anglican establishment. This statement is strictly legal and strictly accurate, having regard to the legislation of Henry VIII., his son and his daughter. But "The Welsh Church" is the correct name by which to describe the form of Christianity that existed in Wales before the Anglican establishment was invented, before Canterbury was a Bishop's see. The popular idea, the one usually taught, is that the Welsh Church existed in a sort of semi-Christian state before the time of Augustine; that it differed only in some unimportant matters from the Latin Church, such as Tonsure, the date of keeping Easter, and unction in Baptism; that it soon adopted the Latin rule and became incorporated in the Latin communion. Nothing more

false has ever been passed off as history; and I know no worthier object of archæological research than to show, as can be shown, the independence of the Welsh Church from that of Rome, and to narrate its struggles for freedom and existence. For patriotic Welshmen there is no nobler field in which to display their country's glory. The history of the Welsh Church has been deprived of its interest, and the documents relating to it rendered obscure and meaningless, by the zeal that writers have shown to maintain its identity in doctrine and discipline with the Latin Church. Pages have been written to prove its orthodoxy and its unity with the Latin communion. Its real interest has been wholly ignored; it lies in the fact that the Welsh Church was entirely independent of the Latin; that its customs, its usages, its rites were all at variance with those of that Church; that it presents the almost unique spectacle of a Church that did not teach nor inculcate as part of its system Roman Law or Roman ideas, but adapted itself to, instead of destroying, local laws and local customs. It retained its independence longer, and fought a more stubborn fight for it, than almost any other of the Western Churches. The Norman tried to stamp it out, but he can hardly be said to have succeeded. It was not until Henry VIII. willed that Wales should be an integral portion of England, and that his laws for England should apply to Wales, that the Church of England in Wales became substituted for the Welsh Church.

It is doubtful, and will probably always remain so, from whence Welsh Christianity came; but whatever was its origin, whether it was some relic of early British Christianity, driven to seek refuge in the Welsh hills, or whether it came from Gaul, is really unimportant. It existed as a Church before the Latin Church had laid hands upon Gaul or penetrated into Britain. How much of the old

Pagan worship it assimilated, how far its faith was orthodox according to Latin ideas, is very questionable. It seems to have possessed its own version of the Bible and its own liturgy. It is certain that it had two distinctive features which separated it from the Latin Church, the enormous number of its saints and the enormous number of its monks. No subject of Welsh ecclesiastical archæology deserves more careful study than that of the Welsh saints; they had special peculiarities; they were born, not made. It would seem that the true explanation of their origin and of their number is that each saint was not a saint at all according to our meaning of the word *saint*, but that the term was the title of the ecclesiastical head of the tribe, just as the chief was the temporal head. The fact of the saintship being hereditary and confined to particular families shows that the qualification for a Welsh saint did not necessarily consist in personal holiness, but in real or imaginary descent from some heroic or kingly ancestor, from Cunedda Wledig or Brychan Brycheiniog.[1] It is far from improbable that on the tribe becoming Christian the saint took the place of the Druid, the wise man of the tribe, the person who stated what was right to be done, what would please the God of the tribe. All early tribes have in some form or other a wise or holy man to direct them. The heathen Celts were no exception, and had their Druid; the Christian Celts were no exception, and had their saint. But such a saint in no way resembled the Latin or mediæval saint, who, irrespective of birth or descent, attained by a life of austerity and sanctity to the position of becoming a pattern of life for future ages. The idea of such a saint seems to have been wholly absent from the Welsh Church until Norman monks and Latin scribes undertook to supply the Celtic saints with what, in their

[1] See note (*a*) at end of article.

opinion, it was essential that they should have to fill that position. In the lives of Welsh Saints written by Latin monks we find acts of sanctity and austerity, and miracles, in abundance; but these are the transparent forgeries of lying monks.[2] There was, in fact, as great a contrast between the Welsh saint of fact and the Welsh saint as described by a Latin monk, as there was between the Welsh Church of the fifth century and the Church in Wales of to-day. If the tribal character of the Welsh Church explains its saints, it also helps to explain its other great feature, its monks. No one can fail to be struck in the history of the Welsh Church by the large number of its monks. We may safely deduct a considerable percentage from the reputed numbers of the inmates of the Welsh monasteries, but after making every deduction the fact remains that Wales was intensely monastic. Not the least striking fact is that the number of monasteries existing before the Latin Church came to Wales exceeded the number after its introduction. The explanation of this number of religious persons has always been a source of difficulty. The reason seems to be that the Welsh monasteries were not monasteries as we understand the term, not establishments where a body of men lived in accordance with a definite rule, but were the residences of the Priests of the tribe, or clan, inhabiting the district. Each tribe had its own territory, its own chief that ruled over its temporal affairs, its own saint that ruled over its religious affairs, its own monks who were its priests. Properly speaking, though monastic, these priestly establishments were not monasteries at all, but the residences of the religious men of the tribe under a religious head. Wherever the tribe had a settlement, there it had a temporal and spiritual establishment, an establishment of its wise men or priests. It was the custom to speak of establishments of

[2] See note (*b*) at end of article.

religious men as monasteries, and so the name became used to designate these establishments without regard to its fitness or to the confusion it caused. The fact of the Church being tribal, and the saint and the monastery being a necessary part of the tribal organization, led to another peculiarity in the Welsh Church, the mode in which its dioceses were formed. If the Celtic rule prevailed in Wales that the Abbot, not the Bishop, was the head of ecclesiastical affairs, it follows that the Abbot's jurisdiction extended not only over the original establishment, but also over its offshoots. Wherever there was an offshoot from the monastery, the Abbot had a claim to exercise jurisdiction over that offshoot, and to have the right of succession to its headship.

It often happens that the localities where these offshoots were placed were scattered all over the territory of the tribe. From originally holding a post as an official of the monastery, in time the Bishop became its chief, or, to speak more accurately, the Abbot assumed episcopal functions. It is one of the most curious facts in Welsh Church History that there is no trustworthy account of the consecration of the early Bishops, or of their transmutation into Abbots, or of the consecration of any Abbot as Bishop. The whole of this idea seems to have been the invention of a later age. As intercourse with England increased and the Welsh Bishops saw what the English Bishops really were, they sought to imitate them and, forgetful of their origin, claimed to exercise, as the English Bishops exercised, not merely a jurisdiction over certain religious establishments, but also over certain definite territory. Hence arose the disputes as to the boundaries of Welsh dioceses, disputes that lasted until the Welsh Church passed into other hands. If the ordinary episcopal point of view is taken as the standpoint, the contention of Urban, Bishop of Llandaff, as to the boundaries of his see is unintelligible. But if Urban is regarded as the head of

the chief religious establishment of St. Teilo[2a] and as the head of all the offshoots from it, the reason why he claimed jurisdiction in places outside his diocese becomes clear, which on mere territorial grounds it never was.[3]

This view of the tribal origin of the Welsh Church, viz., that the saints were the head of the priests of the tribe, the monasteries the residences of the priests, it need hardly be said, is not the one usually adopted. It is, however, strengthened by passages in the Welsh Laws, and serves to explain various statements therein that are very hard to be understood. Should Welsh archæological research establish this to be the true account of the Welsh Church, a good deal of what is usually accepted as the history of that Church must be discarded—such as the archiepiscopal claims of Caerleon[4] and St. David's, indeed all ideas of any Archbishop in the Latin sense of the term. But the loss of Archbishops, and the doubt as to the apostolic succession of the Welsh Bishops, will be more than compensated if it is shown that the Welsh Church was an instance of Western Christianity that withstood the influence of Rome. Without some such hypothesis it is difficult to account for the anger and hatred with which the Welsh regarded the Norman occupants of their sees, their intense dislike to Urban of Llandaff and Bernard of St. David's. The Welsh opposition to these men was not merely opposition to Norman prelates, but hatred of men who had destroyed their Church. There is no field of antiquarian research likely to yield a richer

[2a] See the *Life of St. Teilo* in MS. Cott. Vespasian, A. xiv., fo. 58a, where Llandaff is termed *archimonasterium*. The text of the *Liber Landavensis* is here defective. The correct reading of the passage printed at ll. 3–4 of p. 73 is: "nisi *archimonasterio* Landaviæ *et* archiepiscopo Dubricio," &c.—Ed.

[3] See note (*c*) at end of article.

[4] We know of no real evidence outside Geoffrey of Monmouth and the *race moutonnière* of his copyists, that there ever was even a *Bishopric* at Caerleon.—Ed.

harvest to an explorer than Welsh ecclesiastical history. For Ireland much has been done: Celtic scholars have given us glowing accounts of the Irish Church. The Welsh Church is as interesting and as important, but it has yet to find its historian. Among Welshmen who profess to have the glory of Wales so much at heart it is to be hoped that some one will devote himself to the task of writing the history of the Welsh Church, and showing that Anglican Christianity in Wales is really an alien Church in a sense very different from that in which that expression is ordinarily used.

IV. The Norman Settlement.

Another object of Welsh archæological research to some degree forming part of the history of the Welsh Church, is one that has been so far only partially investigated, namely, the Norman settlement of the country. In almost every other place which the Normans invaded they succeeded in establishing their system of administration and in settling the country in accordance with their ideas. For 400 years, from 1066 to 1485, their system was tried in Wales without success. Ample materials are in existence for a complete history of that period, but as yet no one has undertaken the task. That the labour would be great may be admitted, but mere labour should not deter those who desire to elucidate Welsh history, especially when that history forms the best record of the power and the glory of the Welsh tribes. If Welsh writers, instead of making everlasting moans over the death of Llywelyn and writing high-flown panegyrics on Owen Glendower, would devote their time towards working out parts of the Norman history of Wales, they would be rendering real service to their country. Granted that the narrative is largely made up of intrigue and treason; still there is something more: there

is the fact to be accounted for that outside the moats of their castles the Norman rule never extended. The position of the Welsh chieftain, both before and after the Edwardian conquest, is also an important matter. The dealings of Henry II. with the Welsh, and his negotiations and wars with them, deserve most careful study. The position and jurisdiction of the Earls on the Welsh border, the conflicts that were always going on between Norman law and Welsh custom, also require investigation. The progress and extent of Norman castle-building in Wales, and the system on which the castles were extended along certain lines of country to the exclusion of others, are also points worthy of notice; as are the special circumstances that led to the erection of each of the Norman castles, the ruins of which are still so conspicuous.

If the Norman tried to settle the country by means of his castles, it was only one of his modes; he also used another that is equally deserving of archæological research, the establishment of cells of foreign religious houses, a mode which had some effect on the history of the country. Unlike the case of England, where Benedictine monasteries had existed before the Normans were heard of, where all the greatest and richest foundations dated from a period anterior to the Norman conquest, it was not until Wales knew the Norman invader that she became acquainted with this great religious order of the Latin Church. On their introduction the Benedictines were distinctly hostile to the Welsh. The monastery was the religious, the castle the civil fortress of the conquerors. Hence also it was probably owing to the existence of the Welsh tribes that the influence of the monastery was confined to its own possessions. How certain of the monasteries, notably the Cistercian, subsequently won over the Welsh princes to their side and

induced them to become most generous benefactors to their enemies is a point in Welsh history that has been too much neglected. The modern historian of the great monastic movement treats the establishment of monasteries in Wales in the same way as the establishment of monasteries in England, and sees no distinction between the endowment of a religious house by a Welsh chieftain and an English landlord. This is certainly not the true view. In England piety or superstition led the landowners to endow a religious house. What was the motive in Wales—where the monasteries were founded, and the order of monks selected, so that they might assist in the Norman settlement—which induced Welsh Princes to endow these hostile establishments, it is hard to say. Yet the history of the attempt, and its failure, to establish an alien aristocracy, alien monks, and alien laws in Wales is one that, from whatever side it is regarded, is full of interest, and will amply repay the most minute investigation. But it must always be remembered that it is not the history of the dealing of the English king with a people or nation; it is the history of his trying to play off one tribe against another; and to this fact is due in a great degree the protracted and successful resistance to English domination. Had the country been united under the rule of one man it could have been dealt with once and for all; as it was, to deal with the tribes in detail was more than the English kings could manage. The story of how they succeeded and how they failed; how they tried resort to force, and when that failed to flattery, and when that did not succeed tried force again, is most curious and instructive. Any one who will work out the history of this period in relation to some town, some castle, some monastery, deserves well of his countrymen. At present any such work has this great advantage; the worker is obliged to have recourse to the original authorities, as the materials are to a large extent unpublished.

V. The Tudor Settlement.

The failure of the Plantagenets did not deter the Tudors from trying their hand at settling Wales. The legislation of Henry VIII. made, as far as statutes could make, Wales a portion of England, treated the Welsh Church as part of the English Church, and dealt out to each the same degree of justice or injustice. To the present day these statutes are law, and form the basis on which the government of Wales is carried on. It cannot be said that the Tudor settlement has been an entire success. Its failure is due in a great measure to a statute for the further extension of which Wales is now agitating, the statute that disestablished and disendowed the monastic part of the Church. The result of the measure was to transfer a large part of the property and a larger part of the revenue of the Church to absentee landlords. The Church was so impoverished that the clergy have ever since had to struggle with poverty; the lands passed into the hands of English courtiers who knew little and cared less about Wales, whose sole object was rent. The effect of the dissolution of the monasteries in Wales forms a very interesting point for antiquarian research.

VI. Local Customs.

The three centuries of the Tudor settlement by no means did away with distinctive Welsh customs and ideas. Probably up to fifty or seventy-five years ago there was but little change in the remote parts of Wales from the habits and customs that had existed under the Tudors. Now Railways and School Boards have altered all this, and the old customs and ideas are fast dying out. A most important task for Welsh archæologists is, before it is too late, to collect and record the customs, legends, and superstitions of Wales. Nothing can be more valuable and more important; they contain traces of popular ideas and beliefs that are fast

disappearing, but which are the relics of ideas, beliefs and customs that have prevailed in the country for centuries. If the opportunity is lost and no steps are now taken to record them, they will perish, and Welsh history will suffer a grievous loss; for these legends and customs form links between the present and the past, and throw a cross light on the investigation of historical matters, which if once allowed to go out cannot be relit. Much of what has already been done in the direction of collecting them has been the work, not of any learned society,[5] but of the energy and spirit of a local newspaper, *The Oswestry Advertizer;* and no one who knows *Bye-Gones* but will admit the value of the work. I am aware that there are one or two periodicals in South Wales which to some extent deal with the same subject; but they merely make a selection from the local customs and legends, and do not record them all. Another branch of the same subject should not be forgotten: the importance of collecting and preserving a record of the various local peculiarities in buying and selling, in measuring land and crops. The old local names of fields should not be allowed to perish, as they are most valuable in tracing out and identifying past events in connection with localities.

The proper and systematic investigation of the different matters already mentioned with relation to Wales and Welsh archæology must be done by united, not by individual effort. There are plenty of persons who would willingly devote, who even do devote, time and labour to the subject, but who do not obtain any, or, if any, but very slight results from not working on any method or plan. I

[5] *Non detrahere ausim*, &c., from *Bye-Gones;* but it should be pointed out that a most valuable and exhaustive collection of one class of Welsh folk-lore (including many items never previously printed) has been contributed by Professor Rhys to *Y Cymmrodor;* which has also printed many smaller contributions by others to Welsh folk-lore.—Ed.

have tried to-night to indicate six main subjects of Welsh archæology, to some of which a person desiring to work might devote his attention. These subjects are :

1. The early inhabitants.
2. The Roman occupation.
3. The Norman settlement.
4. The Tudor settlement.
5. The Welsh Church.
6. The collection of the local customs, legends and beliefs of Wales.

Each of these subjects, if investigated in a proper and systematic way, will lead to important results. I shall not, I hope, be considered impertinent if I venture to state that it would be a great help to any such work if this Honourable Society would try to organize systematic research on these points of Welsh archæology. To two points its attention might be specially directed, both of the utmost importance, and both essential to any really good work. One has been already referred to ; the establishment of a National Welsh Museum, in which whatever antiquarian objects are found in Wales should be placed. The other : the establishment of a National Welsh Library, which should contain all books and publications relating to Wales. I am well aware of the difficulties in the way of carrying out both or either of these objects. Yet unless something of the kind is done, Welsh archæology can never be properly studied. One practical suggestion I may perhaps be allowed to make : that pressure be brought to bear on the British Museum authorities to place all the various antiquities from Wales that are at present scattered about that collection in one room. We should then get some sort of idea of what Welsh art was and what Welshmen were. The other suggestion is the setting apart of a Welsh room in the Library, where all books relating to Wales should be placed; or, if this cannot be done, the making of a

separate catalogue of all books, MSS., and documents relating to Wales in the Museum might be insisted upon. No one who has not gone into the matter has any idea of the mass of materials for Welsh History that lies stowed away in the British Museum and at the Record Office.[6] Until this store of materials is utilized, little really good work can be done; and the difficulty of access to the materials deters many workers.

Another thing which urgently requires to be carried out in the interest of Welsh archæology, and which some of the Welsh societies might reasonably be asked to undertake, is the making of an archæological survey of Wales, in which should be mentioned every earthwork, *maen hir*, camp, cairn, and all that is of importance or interest in churches, houses, or elsewhere, and all the contents of private collections. The destruction of antiquities that has been going on and that is still going on is deplorable, and in the interest of the country should be stopped. A list that was gone over and revised from time to time would tend greatly to stop the destruction or appropriation of antiquarian objects. This is a matter that almost admits of individual exertion. An archæological survey has already been made in several English counties, and in others is in course of being made. Will not some patriotic Welshman make a beginning on some Welsh county, or even on some Welsh town? Every Welsh antiquarian, nay every Welshman, should determine to do all in his power to prevent any further destruction of Welsh antiquities, and do his best to render those that remain accessible to study. It is not the more important objects that are in such great danger; it is the smaller ones, the

[6] And in many private collections, especially that of the Hengwrt MSS. at Peniarth, which, as a Welsh collection, is equal in value (if we except the one item of "Welsh Records" such as those preserved at the Record Office) to all the other existing Welsh collections, public and private, put together, as is well known to scholars.—Ed.

fragments, the odds and ends that are often considered useless, but which may yet serve to give the clue to some difficult questions in Welsh archæology. For it is the duty of the antiquary, by means of such different fragments, to piece together, bit by bit, the subject on which he is at work, until at last he is able, in fact as well as in fancy, to reproduce the whole by means of the process that is thus well described: [7] "Often, when wandering through our villages or fields, despoiled of their ancient glories, where every day the traces of our ancestors are in course of demolition, some relic is met with that has escaped the destroyer; it may be a moss-covered figure, a pointed door, a traceried window. Whatever it be, our imagination begins to work, our sentiment and our curiosity are alike aroused. In fancy we begin to wonder what part the fragment served in the whole; involuntarily we are driven by reflection and study bit by bit to picture the whole building to our imagination, until the complete work of reconstruction is accomplished. We then see some abbey, some church, some cathedral, restored in all its noble beauty; we imagine ourselves wandering under the gorgeous roof, joining in the prayers of a faithful people, surrounded by the symbolical pomp and the ineffable harmony of the ancient worship." Thus out of the fragments we have left we have to reconstruct the history of early Wales. The task is not easy, but by a careful comparison of each fragment, however insignificant, it is far from an impossible one, particularly to any student who has no special end in view, no direct purpose to serve, and who cares not what may be the result of his work on present theories or existing history, whose only object is to ascertain "*y gwir, yr holl wir, a dim ond y gwir.*"

[7] Montalembert's *Histoire de Sainte Elizabeth de Hongrie*, p. 11.

NOTES BY THE EDITOR.

NOTE (*a*) (on p. 113, *supra*).

The only instances we can think of in Welsh hagiology where both father and son are authentically recorded as having been termed or considered as "saints" are: that of St. Cadoc and his father St. Gwynllyw; that of St. Llywelyn and St. Gwrnerth, father and son, the patron saints of Welshpool, from whom the speedwell (*Veronica officinalis*) is called in Welsh both *Llysiau Llywelyn* (whence our English name *fluellen*) and *Gwrnerth;* that of St. Gildas (who however is not, or at least not now, commemorated in Wales) and his sons Sts. Gwynnog and Noethon; and that of St. Teilo and his father Usyllt, commemorated at St. Issel's (in Welsh *Llan Usyllt*) near Tenby; to which we must add the case of St. Nonn (or Nonnita), mother to St. David.

On the other hand, the oldest Welsh *Bonedd y Saint* (with which may be included the old version of *Cognatio de Brychan*) furnishes several instances where all or many of the children of one man became saints; and there were certain families in particular (not all mentioned in the *Bonedd* itself) which each produced a very large number of saints. The best known of these families are:

(1) That of Brychan Brycheiniog, very many of whose children, and some of whose grandchildren, became saints. But it should be stated that the numbers are not nearly so great as is stated in the modern lists cherished and quoted as authentic by your average Welsh antiquary, the products of hundreds of years of blunders, duplications, and forgeries, elucubrated by innumerable scribes, compilers, and "editors." Most of the best-authenticated saints descended from Brychan are commemorated in South Wales. The question of these Brychan saints is a very puzzling one. As we have pointed out (*Y Cymmrodor*, xi., 100–1), the best-authenticated ones are pretty clearly the children of at least two distinct Brychans, one belonging to Breconshire, the other to what is now Southern Scotland. But this is not all. In Irish, in Cornish, and in Breton hagiology we find a King Brychan with many children, who all or mostly became saints. The Breton one (the names of whose children are mostly not preserved to us) is traced to Scotland, and admits of being plausibly identified with one of the Brychans who together made up the composite Brychan of Welsh hagiology; but the names of the children of the Irish and Cornish one respectively differ entirely (except one or two) both from each other and from those of the Welsh Brychan's progeny.

(2) The children of Caw, father of Gildas. Mostly commemorated as saints in Anglesey, and, all but one, omitted in the old *Bonedd.*

(3) The descendants of Ceredig of Ceredigion, son of Cunedda.

(Putting these aside, the saints descended from Cunedda are only about six in number.) Mostly commemorated in Central Wales, with the grand exceptions of St. David and St. Teilo.

(4) The descendants of a Breton (unknown to Breton records, though others of his sons occur in Welsh legend and tradition) known as Emyr Llydaw ('Emyr of Brittany'), who came over *en masse* (probably with St. Teilo in about 550), and are mainly commemorated in Central Wales.

The following is the original and genuine form of the often-quoted Triad of the "Three Holy Families of Britain":

"Teir gwelygordd Seynt Kymru. Plant Brychan; a phlant Kunedda Wledig; a phlant Kaw o Brydyn ('The three stocks of Welsh Saints; the children of Brychan, those of Cunedda, and those of Caw of Pict-land')." This is found first in the *Hanesyn Hên*, a now lost MS. of the 13th or 14th century (once forming Hengwrt MS. 33), and occurs at pp. 11, 44, of the Cardiff copy of that MS., and likewise in the *Book of Ieuan Brechfa* (Hengwrt MS. 114=414), a great part of whose contents is copied from the *Hanesyn Hên*. The late and made-up document known as the "Third Series of Triads" purports to be partly based on the "Book of Ieuan Brechfa" (perhaps the MS. now known as such); but in Triad No. 18 of the Series (*Myv. Arch.*, ii. 61) the "stock (or family) of Caw" of the original Triad is deliberately replaced by the "stock of Brân Fendigaid," the importation of whom from Welsh legend into Welsh hagiology (only found in the latest hagiological documents concocted in Glamorganshire or thereabouts, and not countenanced by anything in the genuine literature of the subject), and the ancillary details connected with the process, especially the links by which Brân and his son Caradog are connected with the Lucius Christianization-legend, form altogether what is perhaps (next to Geoffrey of Monmouth's performances) the most impudent forgery in Welsh literature.

It should be added that in the same documents which contain this master-forgery and many minor ones, numerous fathers, mothers, and ancestors of authentic Welsh Saints, who themselves never had the slightest claim to sainthood (or to any but a purely secular reputation), are deliberately or ignorantly added to the ranks of Welsh Saints. Often they are identified with real Saints (or at least with persons after whom particular churches were named, who were not necessarily the saints to whom those churches were dedicated) who in name happen to be identical with, though in personality they were wholly distinct from, these new candidates for saintship. (A great many of these and similar forgeries of the Glamorgan documents will be found pointed out by the present writer in *Byc-Gones* for 1890, pp. 448–9, 482–5, 532–6.)

NOTE (*b*) (on p. 114, *supra*).

We should like to say a few words as to the date when the few Welsh Saints' Lives (often, alas! but meagre epitomes of lost Lives, or mere commemoration homilies) that time has preserved to us were composed. The oldest of them are those of Welsh Saints who went to Brittany and became naturalized there; of whom the chief were St. Samson, St. Brieuc, St. Pol de Léon, and St. Malo. The oldest life of St. Samson was written in about 600 (shortly after his death), in Brittany, but by an author who himself informs us that he had visited Llanilltyd Fawr in search of materials for his biography (much of which was based on the information of a cousin of the saint), and also parts of Cornwall; this life will be found printed in the first volume of Mabillon's *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Benedicti* (and see *Revue Celtique*, vi. 4, note 3). St. Pol's Life was compiled (partly from an older one then existing) towards the end of the ninth century, and St. Malo's Life exists in a MS. of the eleventh century at the British Museum (Royal MS. 13 A. X.). But perhaps it is to the Welsh Saints' Lives of (at least locally) purely Welsh *provenance* that Mr. Willis Bund's remarks mainly apply. As to the two most important of these, it should be pointed out that we know their authors to have been men who, though they survived the Norman Conquest, belonged by birth and education to a period before that of Norman influence on the Welsh Church. We refer first to the Life of St. Cadoc (infinitely the most important of all the Welsh Lives of Saints written in Wales). With the exception of the last fifteen sections (which are on their face but a kind of appendix, mostly drawn from some lost Chartulary of Llancarvan), this Life is stated at its conclusion (*Cambro-British Saints*, p. 80) to be the work of one *Lifris*, whom it is almost impossible not to identify with the *Lifricus*, son of Bishop Herwald (Bishop of Llandaff 1056—1104; he died at a great age in the latter year)[1], who is stated (*Lib. Land.*, pp. 261–2) to have been "filius Episcopi, Archidiaconus Gulat Morcant, et magister Sancti Catoci de Lanncaruan." Secondly, we refer to the Life of St. David, written by Ricemarchus or Rhygyfarch (yclept by the charlatans *Rhyddmarch*), who died in 1097–9, aged 43, and was the son of Sulien, who himself died in 1089, aged 75 or 80, and was the last Bishop of St. David's under the pre-Norman *régime*,[2] as Herwald had been of Llandaff; they

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[1] See *Lib. Land.*, 84, 254-5, 268. He had held the Bishopric 48 years.

[2] He was consecrated in 1071. See *Annales Cambriæ* and *Brut y Tywysogion* under the years 1071, 1076, 1078, 1083, 1089; also the

were succeeded by Bishops Wilfred and Urban respectively. Leofric himself was presumably the last Abbot of Llancarvan. These two lives are preserved in the great collection of Welsh Saints' Lives (now forming part of the volume numbered "Vespasian, A. xiv." in the Cottonian MSS.) written (we suspect at Brecon) in about 1200, but largely, if not entirely, transcribed from earlier documents. Without having made a detailed examination of the only other two lives in this volume which are of any length or pretensions (those of St. Gwynllyw and St. Illtyd), we should judge from pp. 155–6, 181, of the *Cambro-British Saints* that they were originally composed *in their present form* at about the same period as the Lives of St. David and St. Cadoc, viz., not far from the year 1100. With regard to the other Lives of Welsh Saints in the MS., they are quite short, mostly very short, epitomes. They consist of Lives of St. Brynach, St. Carannog, St. Tathan, St. Padarn, and St. Cybi; a second Life of St. Cybi, a Life of St. Dubricius, a second Life of St. Dubricius (taken largely from Geoffrey of Monmouth), and Lives of St. Teilo and St. Clydog. All these, except the five last-named documents, are shamefully edited in the *Cambro-British Saints*, in which are also printed the two remaining Lives of the MS. volume, those of St. Aidan of Ferns and St. Brendan (only the first leaf or two of the last is preserved), two Irish Saints specially connected, the one with St. David's and parts of Dyfed, the other with Llancarvan. As for the Lives of St. Dubricius, St. Teilo, and St. Clydog, they are copies (abridged in places) of the same lives in the *Lib. Land.*, transcribed, not from the present *Lib. Land.*, which is itself a transcript not earlier than 1150, but from an older MS., probably the original compiled by Bishop Urban in 1132 or thereabouts. That these three lives (and also a Life of St. Oudoceus or Euddogwy, found in the *Lib. Land.*, but not in Vesp. A. xiv.) were compiled under Norman influences there can be no doubt; and the same remark applies, only to a still greater degree, to the Lives of St. Ninian and St. Kentigern (both written in the North of England or the South of Scotland) and the various Lives of St. Winifred. John of Tinmouth's collection, made in the fourteenth century,

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former chronicle under 1099 and 1115, and the latter one under 1097 and 1112. Wilfred is called *Wilfre* in MS. *B*, and *Wilfridus* in MS. *C*, of the *Annales* (p. 35), and *Wilffre* in the *Brut*, p. 52; but at p. 118 of the *Brut* his name is corrupted into *Ieffrei* or *Geffrei*. Rhygyfarch also had a son called Sulien, who died (see the *Brut*, p. 166) in 1145. There was another "Rigeware clericus," who delivered up Cardigan-Castle to Rhys ap Gruffudd (*Annales*, under 1166).

contains a few other short Lives of Welsh Saints, as well as those epitomized from the works already mentioned: viz., the Lives of St. Petrock, St. Keyne (in Welsh St. *Cein*, who has nothing to do with St. *Ceneu* of Llangeneu, as Welsh antiquaries and English guide-book hacks are apt to inform us), St. Justinian, and St. Cenydd; and Capgrave, who printed John of Tinmouth's collection in the following century, adds Lives of St. Decumanus, and of St. Dochau, alias Cyngar, the saint who gave name to Congresbury in Somersetshire, and to the Llandough's, which are called in Welsh *Llandocha*. All the originals of these six epitomes have perished; but John of Tinmouth tells us that he used an old and often illegible Life of St. Cenydd (commemorated at Llangenydd in Gower), existing "in one place only in Wales" (Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, fo. ccvi[b].). The only other Life of a Welsh Saint (except the Welsh Life of St. Collen and a few shorter ones, also in Welsh, and not found in MSS. earlier than the sixteenth century) preserved to us is that of St. Beuno, the compiler of which Life (written in Welsh) expressly states that he had many more materials before him than those of which he made use; this Life is of the thirteenth century. We have made no mention of the other Lives of St. David, either Welsh or Latin; for they are all mainly based upon Rhygyfarch's work, though here and there they contain details (such as names of persons or places) which are not in the older work (at least as we now have it), and must have been drawn, directly or indirectly, from still older sources. There are also extant some details of the life of St. Beuno not found in the now existing biography of that Saint, and clearly traceable to the original documents or traditions on which the latter work was based.

NOTE (*c*) (on p. 116, *supra*).

The claims of Bishop Urban of Llandaff were twofold: (1) for episcopal jurisdiction within a certain boundary, comprising considerably more territory than the present limits of the diocese, which boundary is set forth in *Lib. Land.*, pp. 126–7, and abstracted and confirmed in the bull of Pope Honorius II. on pp. 41–2; (2) for the ownership, as Bishop, of certain estates (most of them including, and named from, churches), the majority of which estates were inside the diocesan boundaries claimed, but many of which were not.

It is very noteworthy that not one of the places specified as "confirmed" to Bishop Urban in the above-named bull and two others (commencing at pp. 31 and 85 respectively, the first of which contains a virtually identical list, and the second an abridged list, the same so far as it goes) is outside the diocesan boundaries claimed by the Bishop. There seems to have been some reason for the

omission in these bulls of the places claimed by him outside these boundaries. On the other hand, there are two bulls of Innocent II. addressed to Bishop Bernard of St. David's (pp. 54, 59), in which he is summoned to answer the claims of Bishop Urban to several places inside the narrowest possible limits of Bernard's, but outside the widest limits of Urban's, diocese ("quæ omnia [loca]," say the bulls, "juris Landavensis ecclesiæ, sicut ipse asserit Episcopus, esse videntur").[3]

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[3] One of the places stated in the *Lib. Land.* to have been granted to the Bishops of Llandaff (by Awst, king of Brycheiniog, and his sons; see p. 138) was Llangors (corruptly spelt Llangorse) in Breconshire, which lay just outside the limits claimed for his diocese by Bishop Urban. Professor Rhys has, with reference to the statements in the above note, directed our attention to the passage in *Lib. Land.*, 227-9, where Tewdwr ab Elisse, king of Brycheiniog at the beginning of the 10th century, inflicts an insult on Bishop Llibio of Llandaff, while the latter was staying "in monasterio suo Lancors." Lumberth, Bishop of St. David's (who died in 944), is thereupon called upon to arbitrate between Llibio and Tewdwr, and the matter is settled by the grant by the king to Bishop Llibio of Llanfihangel Tref Cerian (this would now be *Tre Geiro* or *Tre Giro*), otherwise Ll. Meibion Gratlaun (see also *ib.*, 244), which had previously been granted by another Tewdwr, the son of Rhain, to Gwrfan, Bishop of Llandaff (see pp. 158-160). This place is in the *Lib. Land.*, pp. 413, 499, doubtingly identified with Llanfihangel Cwm Du, on the ground of one of the MS. transcripts of the original MS. reading the name of the stream mentioned in the boundaries at pp. 160, 228, as "Riangoll" (which is the name of the river at Ll. Cwm Du) in the first of these two places; but the MS. reads *Tauguel* at p. 160, and *Taugeiel* at p. 228 (see Rhys and Evans' *Book of Llann Dav*, pp. 168, 238), and there can be little or no doubt that the word *tawel*, 'quiet,' is intended; that the stream meant is identical with the *Nant Tauel* in the boundary of Llangors at *Lib. Land.*, p. 138, a tributary of the Llyfni; and that the church meant is Llanfihangel Tal y Llyn, which is situated on a tributary of the Llyfni and adjacent to Llangors. It is worth mentioning that the church of the parish adjacent to Llangors on the other side, viz., Cathedine (anciently Llanfihangel Cathedine, as in Leland's *Itinerary*, 1769, vol. v., fo. 69), is also dedicated to St. Michael; it and Llanfihangel Tal y Llyn are just outside the boundaries claimed by Bishop Urban, whilst Llanfihangel Cwm Du was just within them. It should be added that Llanfihangel Cwm Du is mentioned in the *Lib. Land.*, at

Another noteworthy point for students of the *Liber Landavensis* (of which a thoroughly trustworthy edition is now being brought out by Mr. Gwenogvryn Evans, to supersede the old edition, which swarms with textual blunders) is that while the lists in the Bulls on pp. 31, 41, and 85 contain some places which are not elsewhere in the *Lib. Land.* specified as having been granted to the see, they omit far more places lying within the limits claimed for the diocese, the grants of which places to the See of Llandaff are recorded or fully set forth in the same book.

With reference to the theory that some of Urban's claims really represented the survival of the jurisdiction of the *archimonasterium* of Llandaff over the subordinate establishments both within and without the diocese, it is a very striking fact that every place now or ever called "Llandeilo," or known to be dedicated to St. Teilo (with the exception of Llandeilo at Hentland[4] in Herefordshire, and the possible exceptions of Trelech a'r Bettws in Carmarthenshire, which we suspect to be identical with the Llandeilo Tref y Cernyw

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p. 267, where it is described as the "ecclesia Sancti Michael" "in Istratyu;" the other two Llanfihangels just mentioned were outside the limits of Ystrad-yw. At p. 244 a third church in this part of Brycheiniog, Llan y Deuddeg Saint, is also mentioned as claimed by Llandaff; it was within or adjacent to Llangors, as may be seen by a reference to the end of p. 138. It is interesting, by the way, to note that the church of Llangors is dedicated to St. Paulinus, a saint chiefly known as the teacher of St. David.

[4] This church was in the same enclosure (*in eodem cœmeterio*) as the earlier church dedicated to St. Dubricius. See *Lib. Land.*, p. 263, where a list of the churches of Erging or Archenfield will be found. In that list *Henllan Dibric* or Hentland and *Lann Tydiuc* (or *Lanntiduic*, p. 264) are mentioned as different churches; and it seems almost if not quite certain that the *Henllann Tituic* (also on the Wye) of *Lib. Land.*, pp. 174, 221, which was granted to the Bishops of Llandaff, was identical with Llandydiwg, not with Hentland. Probably Llan-*dydiwg* is identical with *Dix*-ton (called *Dukeston* in the *Tax. Eccl.*, p. 160, col. 2), which was in Erging, and whose church adjoins the Wye.

Since writing the above we have found two more exceptions, viz., the church of Brechfa, dedicated to St. Teilo, and Capel Teilo in the parish of Talley (*Tal y Llychau*). But it is by no means certain that these places may not be identical with some of the places in Cantref Mawr claimed by the Bishops of Llandaff in the *Lib. Land.*, which places there bear other names that cannot now be identified.

[5] *Lib. Land.*, 117, 244, 363, 521.

claimed by Urban, Llandeloi, the derivation of whose name from St. Teilo we doubt without further evidence, and Merthyr Dovan, which presumably had an earlier dedication to Dyfan), was claimed by Bishop Urban as the property of his See. It would be interesting to know whether any of the many places called "Llanddewi," or dedicated to St. David, within the diocese of Llandaff were ever claimed, either ecclesiastically or otherwise, by the Bishops of St. David's. But we only have one side of the case presented to us, the old records of St. David's having long since perished.[6]

It is of course possible that in some cases where no grant of the estates has been preserved to us, but we simply have the statement that such and such a church (or maybe parish—for if we are merely given such a name as *Llandeilo Cilrhedyn*,[7] it is impossible to say whether church, or parish, or merely territory inclusive of the church is meant) was claimed by the Bishop of Llandaff, the claim may not have been one for more or less complete ownership, but for some kind of dues, or merely for some ecclesiastical jurisdiction. But in truth the whole subject requires working out by some one who will make it the object of special research, and bring to his task a thorough knowledge, not only of Welsh (ancient and modern) and of Welsh topography, but also of the history and antiquities of the English, Irish, and Scottish churches. But unfortunately Wales has as yet shown no disposition to produce Todds or Reeves :.

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[6] It appears from Giraldus' *De Jure et Statu Menevensis Ecclesiæ*, &c., that the first non-Welsh Bishops of St. David's, Wilfred (we presume he was not a Welshman), Bernard, and David, were more noted for parting with than for reclaiming the possessions of their See. Amongst these possessions was Cenarth (anciently called *Cenarth Mawr*, to distinguish it from a *Cenarth Bychan*, near Pembroke), which was also claimed by the Bishops of Llandaff. See the Rolls Edition of Giraldus' Works, iii. 152, and *Lib. Land.*, 120–2, 244.

The *manerium* of St. Ishmael's in Rhôs or Roose (Giraldus, iii. 154), if (as appears from passages in the *Life of St. Caradoc* in Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, fo. lv^{b}., and in Owen's *Welsh Laws*, i. 558, ii. 790) identical with the "Lann issan mainaur" in Rhos of *Lib. Land.*, 54, 60, 117, 244, was also claimed by both Bishops. Mathry (see *Lib. Land.*, 120–2, 244) was also, we believe, so claimed.

We may add that there was at least one, and probably were two or three places, which were claimed both by Llancarvan and by Llandaff. At p. 232 we actually find a grant of Llancarvan itself to Llandaff; but made to Bishop Gwgon, who also held the Abbacy of Llancarvan.

[7] *Lib. Land.*, 117, 244.

THE PUBLICATION OF WELSH HISTORICAL RECORDS.[1]

By the Editor.

I have been asked to contribute some recommendations as to "The Publication of *Welsh Historical Records.*" The field embraced by this term is a very wide one; but I propose to confine my present remarks to records (1) the *historical* character and importance of which is beyond all question, (2) the interest of which is such as to appeal to the greatest number both of historical researchers and of general readers, and (3) which I see no present prospect of being adequately edited and presented to the world by any form of private enterprise.

I refer to the two series of Welsh historical Chronicles, one in Latin, the other in Welsh, which together embrace the period between the departure of the Romans and the death of Llewelyn ap Gruffudd; and are known respectively by the loose generic names of *Annales Cambriæ* and *Brut y Tywysogion.*

The general public is under considerable misapprehensions on the subject of these Welsh Chronicles. First, it is supposed that all of them have been printed; and secondly, that

[1] Read before the Cymmrodorion Section of the National Eisteddfod at Brecon on August 29th, 1889. The attention of readers of this paper is particularly called to note 7 on page 152, and the last paragraph of note 3 on page 160, *infra.*

such of them as have been printed have been adequately and competently edited. How far both these ideas are from the truth it will be my endeavour to show you in this paper. To that end I will now proceed to give you a brief account of the nature of the various chronicles, the MSS. in which they are contained, and of the so-called editions in which some of them have been given to the world. And I will append some suggestions as to how these works ought to be brought out in a complete and scholarly form, and so as to be of general use and interest, not only to scholars and students, but to the public at large.

And first I will take the series of Welsh annals written in the Latin language and generally known as the *Annales Cambriæ*.

The oldest document now existing which bears any resemblance to a chronicle of Welsh affairs consists of some loose historical memoranda[2], tacked on with little arrangement and little or no chronology to a series of genealogies of several of the dynasties of the Anglo-Saxon Heptarchy. These genealogies are shown by their contents to have been originally composed by some Welshman of Northumbria or Cumbria, perhaps at Lindisfarne, towards the end of the seventh century, and subsequently added to by some other Welshman or Welshmen, the last additions whose date we can fix having been made about 100 years later. The latest-dated person named in the newer portion (§ 60) is king Ecgfrith of Mercia, who died in 796, in the same year as his father, the celebrated Offa.[3] Some of the disconnected memoranda, such as

[2] Relating mainly to early Northumbrian history, and to the wars of the Northumbrian kings, first with the Welsh princes of "The North" (*Y Gogledd*), whose territories they largely annexed, and subsequently with Penda and the kings of Gwynedd.

[3] Mr. Skene entirely overlocks the passage in which Ecgfrith and

the well-known one (§ 62) which records the conquest of Gwynedd by Cunedda and his eight sons (the date of which event is there fixed at a period not later than *circa* 401), and mentions the poets Aneurin and Taliessin and three other poets less known to fame[4] (all of whom

Offa are mentioned when he says (*Four Books*, i. 37-8) that this document "must have been compiled shortly after 738, as that is the latest date to which the history of any of the Saxon kingdoms is brought down." What he refers to is the mention (§ 61) of Eadberht, who succeeded to the kingdom of Northumbria in 738, abdicated in 757, and died in 768; his brother Ecgberht, also there mentioned as "Bishop," was Archbishop of York from 735 to 766. M. de la Borderie, when he says in *L'Historia Britonum*, pp. 10-11, that, after the *Genealogies* had been completed in about 685—690 (which may be correct enough), "there were added to them in the eighth century certain names of princes which carry the succession of the kings of Mercia down to 716, and of those of Northumbria down to 738," copies Mr. Skene's mistake and adds another of his own. His date 716 must refer to the succession in that year of Æthelbald, whose name begins the last sentence but one of the section (§ 60) relating to the Mercian kings. But M. de la Borderie has omitted to read the last sentence of the section, which gives the genealogy of Ecgferth, son of Offa.

[4] Viz. Talhaiarn Tad Awen, Cian Gwenith Gwawd, and "Bluchbard." It is the last name which used to be—and probably is still by many—considered to represent *Llywarch* Hên; as to which it may be said that *Loumarch* (see *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 171 top) or *Leumarch*, the old forms of the name which we now write and pronounce *Llywarch*, are words extremely unlikely to have been scribally confused with *Bluchbard*. With the formation of the last word we may compare that of the name of "*Tristfardd*, the poet of Urien" (Triad No. 11, in Skene's *Four Books*, ii. 458), and with *Bluch-* (which *per se* might be either *Blwch* or *Bluch* in modern Welsh) the Breton word *blouc'h* 'beardless.' Possibly we have the same word in the epithet of *Eli Fluch* (*Book of Llann Dâv*, p. 277, l. 1), and (in a corrupted form) in that of the personage variously named in the pedigrees of the Demetian royal line "Elgan Wefys *Eflwch*" (Twm Shôn Catti's Tonn Book of Pedigrees, pp. 6, 9) and *Elgan Wefyl-Hwch* (Cardiff copy of *Hanesyn Hên*, p. 77). As to Llywarch Hên, there is no evidence that he ever was a poet, beyond the fact that

it places in about the middle of the sixth century), may (but equally well may not) be subsequent additions, made from 100 to 150 years later.[5] The whole of this short composition has providentially escaped destruction by an accident which caused it to be tacked on as a sort of historical appendix to the tract on the *Battles of Arthur*, which itself forms the final chapter of the romantic, and therefore popular, work known as Nennius' *Historia Britonum*.

But I do not propose to dwell further on this document, which has been printed (with a smaller percentage of mistakes than is unhappily usual in the editing of any document of Welsh interest) in Stevenson and San Marte's editions of Nennius (§§ 57—66), is preserved in four MSS.[6]

some old poetry exists which is put into his mouth by Welsh tradition—poems of which he figures as the spokesman. Hence it has become the fashion to ascribe to Llywarch Hên all old or oldish Welsh poetry similar in metre, apparent age, and style, to the poetry which really has some claim to be connected with his name.

[5] It is worth pointing out that the passage in § 63: "In illo autem tempore aliquando hostes, nunc cives, vincebantur," though placed in quite a different context from that in which it occurs in the authors now to be cited, is obviously taken either from Gildas' *Historia*, § 26: "Et ex eo tempore nunc cives, nunc hostes, vincebant," or from Bede's *Hist. Eccl.*, I. 16 (*Mon. Hist. Brit.*, 122 A): "Et ex eo tempore nunc cives, nunc hostes, vincebant;" a passage where Bede is of course only copying Gildas.

[6] Viz., in the following MSS., the dates appended to which below are those given in the "Class-Catalogue" of MSS. in the British Museum by Mr. E. Maunde Thompson (now Principal Librarian), when he was Keeper of the MSS. there:

Stevenson's A, i.e., Harleian MS. 3859 (early 12th century).
,, B ,, Cottonian MSS., Vespasian D. xxi. (Ditto).
,, C ,, ,, ,, ,, B. xxv. (late 12th cent.).
,, F ,, ,, ,, Vitellius A. xiii. (Ditto).

The *Genealogies* do not occur in the Nennius of Caligula A. viii. (Stevenson's D), as wrongly stated by Stevenson (Preface to his *Nennius*, p. xxiii., repeated by San Marte, in his *Nennius et Gildas*, p. 20), though there are other genealogies of the Anglo-Saxon kings in quite another article in the same MS. volume.

(two of the early twelfth century) in the British Museum, and could be reprinted with notes in the compass of half

M. de la Borderie, in his *L'Historia Britonum*, pp. 7, 9, 59, states that the *Genealogies* are found in *six* MSS., and in his note to p. 59 he specifies five of these MSS. as being the four we have given above plus the one in which Stevenson wrongly states the *Genealogies* to occur. At pp. 113-4 the same list is given, but with the addition of another MS., only mentioned in the following note (on the word "Martiano" at the end of *Nennius*, § 31) in *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, p. 63, note a: "In MS. Coll. C. C. Cantabrigiæ No. CLXXXIII. circa finem sæculi decimi exarato, post regum Saxonum genealogias hæc occurrunt: 'Quando Gratianus consul fuit secundo, et Æquitius quarto, tunc his consulibus Saxones a Wyrtgeorno in Brittannia suscepti sunt, anno CCCXLVIIII. (*sic*) a Passione Christi.'"

The C.C.C.C. MS. in question is described in the printed catalogue as being written "vetustioribus literis Saxonicis," and commencing with "Liber Bedæ presbiteri de vita et miraculis S. Cuthberti," followed by a number of lists of names, chiefly of English prelates, the last of which lists (No. 14) is styled "Genealogiæ regum Brittanniæ regnantium in diversis locis." This is the only tract in the MS. which can possibly be meant by the "Genealogiæ Regum Saxonum" of the note quoted from the *Mon. Hist. Brit.* It cannot be a text of *Nennius;* and M. de la Borderie should have consulted the C.C.C.C. catalogue from which we quote before including the MS. in his list of the MSS. of *Nennius*, as he does on his p. 114. If the "Genealogies of kings of Britain" which the MS. contains are really our Nennian *Genealogies*, all one can say is that it is extraordinary that this MS., of the *tenth century*, should never have been used for the editions either of Petrie or of Stevenson, especially when we consider that three other C.C.C.C. MSS. were used by Petrie, viz., Nos. CXXXIX. (his B), C. (his E), and CCCLXIII. (his O). The first of the three was also used by Stevenson, who refers to it as "K."

There are of course other collections of the royal genealogies of the Heptarchy besides the one in "Nennius;" and perhaps the document contained in C.C.C.C. MS. 183 is one of these. In any case it is noteworthy that the words quoted from the tract by the Editors of the *Mon. Hist. Brit.* agree in the corresponding passage of *Nennius*, § 31 ("Regnante Gratiano secundo Æquantio, Saxones a Guorthigirno suscepti sunt, anno ccccxlvii^{mo}. post passionem Christi"), with the MSS. of the edition of *Nennius* which contains the

a dozen pages. My excuse for dwelling on it thus far is to be found in the facts, *first*, that it lies at the foundation of all strictly Welsh history, and, *secondly*, because much the oldest of the three chronicles on which I have next to dwell is not only appended to it as a direct continuation, but in its earlier parts largely based thereupon.

The earliest known *Annales Cambriæ* (styled in the *Rolls* and *Monumenta* editions "MS. *A*") are annexed as a continuation to this little Chronicle (if it may be called so)[7] in Harleian MS. 3859,[8] one of the two oldest of the four MSS. which I have lately mentioned. They exist in no other known MS., and have been recently printed in a form which

"Saxon Genealogies" in reading *Gratiano*, whereas other MSS. (notably Stevenson's D and E—Cott. Caligula, A. viii. and Nero, D. viii.—two of the most important MSS. of the previous edition) read "*Martiano*." The Vatican MS. also reads "Gratiano" (see Cardinal Mai's text in *Appendix ad Opera edita ab Angelo Mai*, 1871, pp. 102-3).

[7] More strictly speaking, they form the direct continuation of a little series of *Calculi*, or brief chronological data (themselves appended to the "*Saxon Genealogies*"), which chiefly relate to the years 425-436, whilst the *Annales* begin with the year 444. The *Calculi* in question are appended to the so-called *Saxon Genealogies* in all the known MSS. thereof, but are in themselves quite a distinct composition. They form § 66 of Stevenson's edition of Nennius, and are also printed (from Harleian MS. 3859) in *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 152 (and cf. *ib.*, p. 143-4).

[8] This MS., owing to a slip of Aneurin Owen's, is miscalled No. "958" in his *Introduction* to *Brut y Tywysogion* (for which see p. 151, *infra*), p. vii. Harleian MS. 958 is a MS. of the Dimetian Code of Welsh Laws. See his *Preface* to *Ancient Laws of Wales* (8vo edition), p. xxxi., and my list of the MSS. used by him and their exact designations, in *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 298-9. Aneurin Owen was unfortunately very prone to make this kind of mistake; see the same *Preface*, p. xxvii., where he twice writes "Harleian" instead of "Cottonian," and likewise the *Introduction*, p. xviii., where he makes a similar error to that recorded above, and miscalls MS. Cleopatra, B. v. "Cleopatra, A. xiv," which is a MS. of the Gwentian Code of Welsh Laws. And cf. pp. 147-8 (note 5), p. 154 (note 6) and pp. 161-2, *infra*.

exactly reproduces every feature of the original MS. (except the shape of its characters) in the ninth volume of *Y Cymmrodor* (pp. 152-169), where it is attempted to be shown (pp. 144-5) that the composition of these *Annales* in their present form is to be dated between 954 and 988, and probably in 954 or 955. The known sources used by the compiler are, first, the little Chronicle to which his *Annales* were annexed; secondly, the tract *On the* 12 *battles of Arthur*, immediately preceding that Chronicle in the MSS., and forming, in fact, the concluding chapter of "Nennius' " *Historia* properly so called; and thirdly, some lost Chronicle or Chronicles used by the Irish Annalist Tighearnach in the 11th century and probably by other Irish Annalists, such as some of the lost chroniclers whose works were among the originals used in the compilation of the *Annals of Ulster* in 1498. The two other chronicles loosely included under the same title of *Annales Cambriæ* are carried down to the year 1288, and exist in contemporary MSS., one (styled "MS. *B*") in the Record Office,[9] the other ("MS. *C*") in the British Museum.[1] They are both largely based on the older *Annales* ("MS. *A*") so far as those go, and on a MS. (or MSS.) of those *Annales* that is now lost, and was in places a more correct transcript than the now unique existing one.[2] Both these Chronicles begin

[9] It is written on the fly-leaves of a certain volume known as the "Breviate of Domesday," and containing an abridged copy of Domesday Book. See *Preface* to *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, p. 93 (a passage cribbed by Mr. Ab Ithel in his *Preface*, p. xxv.); and for some account of the other contents of the fly-leaves see Mr. Arthur Roberts' remarks in *Y Cymmrodor*, x. 201-3, and the footnotes appended thereto.

[1] Where it forms part of the miscellaneous contents of the volume of the Cottonian MSS. numbered "Domitian A. i."

[2] See *Y Cymmrodor*, ix., note 8 to p. 163, and note 6 to p. 165, for cases (under the years 813 and 865 respectively) where MS. *B* has the correct reading, and MS. *A* a corrupt one. The first of the two instances is a case of homœoteleuton; and in both it is highly unlikely,

with the Mosaic beginning of the world, and each is taken up with a short epitome of sacred and profane history till the period, approximately coinciding with the commencement of the older *Annales* in 444, when the entries begin mainly to be confined to British and Irish events. In the precious Rolls Edition, these epitomes, instead of appearing in the text, are relegated to an appendix.

These three chronicles have been edited in a sort of way, that is to say the three separate texts have been artificially combined into one whole, with the usual elaborate system of collations by figures and ticks at the foot of the page (so admirably adapted to confuse all but the initiated!) in the publication of the Rolls Series, issued in 1861 under the name of *Annales Cambriæ*, and purporting to be edited by the Rev. Mr. Williams Ab Ithel of Llan y' Mawddwy. The portions of both *Annales* and *Brut y Tywysogion* up to the Norman Conquest had, however, been previously printed in a similar manner, and with short prefaces, under the unacknowledged editorship of the celebrated Welsh scholar, Aneurin Owen, in the massive official tome known as *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, volume i., published in 1848, and containing a complete collection of materials for the history of England and Wales from the earliest times to the Norman Conquest. Now the two later Chronicles, during the period common to them and the older *Annales*, viz., between 444 and 954, differ little in substance from the latter or from one another,[3]

if not impossible, that the correct reading of *B* can be accounted for in any way but by supposing that the scribe of that MS. had some other text (or at least other source of information) than our MS. *A* before him. Most probably he was copying from some sister-MS. to *A* or from the lost archetype of *A*.

[3] The earliest important secular entry found in either of the later MSS. is *Guentis Strages* in *B* under the year 649. Nothing else is known of this battle, or with whom it was fought. Another valuable entry, also in *B*, is "Ceniul regiones Demetorum vastavit" under

but very much in phraseology and the orthography of proper names. As they proceed, however, the differences of every kind become progressively greater and greater, till finally, after 1203, they part company and become entirely different.[4] This being the case, it will be clear that any one text formed by a fusion and collation of the three must

818; Kenwulf, King of Mercia, must be meant, who reigned from 796 to 819 or 822, when he died; but no campaign of his against the Welsh is mentioned in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. According to MS. *C*, Offa had in 795 devastated *Rienuch*, i.e., *Rheinwg*, which was a name for Dyfed from about 800 onward (apparently the name was derived from the *Rhain* ap Meredydd, king of Dyfed, who died in 808, and not from *Rhain* ap Cadwgan, his great-grandfather—see *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 163, 171, 175); and it is interesting to know that the same policy was pursued towards that kingdom by Cenwulf, who practically succeeded Offa on the throne of Mercia. The entries in the *Annales Cambriæ*, under 778 and 784 (respectively), that the "Southern Britons" and the "Britons" were harried by Offa do not necessarily imply that the ravages mentioned extended into Dyfed, which was only a part of the land of the "Southern Britons." It would be interesting to know between whom was fought the Battle of Rhuddlan, placed by the *Annales* in the same year as Offa's death (796). Caradog, king of Gwynedd, who is commonly said to have fallen in it (on the authority of some miserable hash-up of the *Brut y Tywysogion*, such as that used by Powel in his so-called "History" of Wales; see ed. 1584, p. 20), was not, according to the *Annales Cambriæ* and the genuine *Brut*, killed by the English till two years later; nor have we any information as to where or why his slaughter took place.

Under 817 (the year previous to the entry about the devastation of Rheinwg by Kenwulf in MS. *B*) all the MSS. of the *Annales* mention a "Battle of Llanfaes"—but we are not told whether Llanfaes near Beaumaris or Llanfaes near Brecon is meant, or between whom the battle was fought.

Most of the independent entries in MSS. *B* and *C* up to 954 are of little historical interest; some are stupid blunders, and others derived from sources which still exist.

[4] *Preface* to *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 93, copied by Mr. Ab Ithel in his *Preface* to *Annales Cambriæ*, p. xxviii.; see the two passages in parallel columns in *Arch. Camb.* for 1861, pp. 328-9.

largely constitute a mere mosaic of disjointed fragments, without entity or unity of its own; from the like of which it is absolutely impossible for any one to take a bird's-eye view, far less form a comparative and critical estimate, of any one of the separate works, its nature or value. The plan of adopting one MS. as the text, and putting the variants of other MSS. in the notes, is of course an excellent one when the collated MSS. are substantially identical; but when they are very substantially different, and especially when, as with our *Annales*, each text contains orthographical peculiarities of the highest value for the history of the little-known stages of a language, the system is an utterly inadequate one. The process of forming one text out of such discordant materials may be compared to that of making an elaborate knot with threads of various colours. The trouble of making the knot is vast, but the trouble of undoing it when once made is so much vaster, that there is little likelihood of its ever being undone to any purpose. The only adequate plan in such a case is to print the various texts in parallel columns, as was done by Thorpe in his edition for the Rolls Series of the six versions of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, notwithstanding the fact that in the previous edition of the early part of that *Chronicle* in the *Monumenta*, these six texts had been mixed up into one mongrel whole. And here one may aptly pause to ask: Why were the early Welsh Chronicles, both *Annales* and *Bruts*, not considered by the official luminaries of that epoch worthy of the same scientific treatment as the early English ones? However this may be, an edition of our *Annales*, similar to that of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, but with notes (which are not permitted in the Rolls Series, except to illustrate the various readings)[5] is now

[5] The official system, while not permitting the simplest topographical and genealogical notes, without which such chronicles as our

required to furnish a solid basis to Welsh History; and, to make the work complete, the oldest *Annales* should be prefaced by a reprint of the short tracts which preface them in the original MS., and which they continue and illustrate —namely, the very short tract on the *Battles of Arthur*, and the so-called *Saxon Genealogies*, which I have already described to you. Such an edition of the *Annales* would be urgently required even had we reason to believe that the printed text, such as it is, had been accurately edited from the MSS. Unfortunately, it seems certain that at least the portion of the text after the Norman Conquest, i.e., that for which Mr. Ab Ithel was solely responsible, teems with mistakes, which, even if they are in the MSS. (which I for one cannot believe), should have been pointed out and corrected in the critical notes. Some of the hugest blunders are pointed out by the late Mr. Longueville Jones in his incisive review in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1861, p. 331. Among the most ridiculous is the torturing of *Pascha*, meaning 'Easter,' into a *man's name* "*Pasetra*," which last duly appears in the *Index* in a summary of the passage which shows the Indexer's entire innocence of the rudiments of Latin grammar;[6] but whether the Indexer was Mr. Ab

Annales or *Brut* are almost useless to almost all, permits of any desired quantity of irrelevant bosh being dragged into a so-called preface (which is paid for at so much a sheet or page!) by the padding sciolist. See Mr. Ab Ithel's prefaces (or rather such parts of them as are his own composition); and see his so-called glossaries, where nearly sixty pages are devoted to giving us such information as that *Dies Jovis* means Thursday, or that *ymenyn* means butter—such facts as could mostly be acquired from the commonest dictionaries or books of reference—and "etymologies" *à la* Dr. Pughe! In the Rolls edition of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* we have a very different sort of Glossary, viz., an index of the place-names with their modern equivalents; and likewise an elaborate chronological index.

[6] The passage is printed as follows (*Annales Cambriæ*, p. 103):—"Sexto Idu Martii G. comes Gloverniæ cum magno exercitu

Ithel or his friend Mr. Kenward of Birmingham,[7] I do not know. In another place (p. 99), *quorum,* meaning 'of whom,' is calmly altered in the text into *equorum,* meaning 'of the horses'!

I cannot exactly say upon whom the responsibility for *all* these blunders rests, as the circumstances attending the editing of the *Annales* (and likewise of the *Brut y Tywysogion*) were peculiar. The task of transcribing and editing both works was originally entrusted by the Government authorities to Aneurin Owen, with a view to their complete publication in the *Monumenta,* a work mentioned above. I have already told you how both *Brut* and *Annales* up to 1066 appeared under his virtual editorship in the first volume of that great work in 1848. But no second volume thereof was ever issued; the plan of making vast collections of historical materials in vast volumes having been abandoned in favour of the one now in vogue of issuing each work in a separate 8vo. form. It was then proposed to bring out in this shape the whole *Annales* and the whole *Brut;* and Aneurin Owen had all the materials ready for the press when his further progress was cut short by his untimely death in 1859. Thereupon they were handed over

per cautelam intravit in civitatem Londoniæ, domino Oto legato existenti in turri Londoniæ, ubi tenuit comes Pasetra [*read* Pascha] suum contra voluntatem regis." This is indexed (*s.v.* "Pasetra") thus: "Pasetra detains Otho the pope's legate in the Tower of London against the king's will!"

[7] Who assisted Mr. Ab Ithel in compiling the Index to the *Brut y Tywysogion.* See the *Preface* to that work, p. xlviii., where we find also adequate acknowledgements to Lady Llanover, for the use of her transcripts; to Jesus College, Oxford, for the use of the *Red Book of Hergest;* and to the late Mr. Wynne of Peniarth, for the facilities afforded by him for the examination of the Hengwrt MSS. (which did not then belong to him) at his house; but none to Aneurin Owen for the wholesale use of his brains and appropriation of his brain-work.

to Mr. Ab Ithel, who was commissioned to bring out the two works in Owen's stead, which as you know he did, but without saying a word in ackuowledgement of Owen's part in their production.[8] It will thus be evident to you that while Mr. Ab Ithel had the text of the *Monumenta* to rely upon (in so far as it was trustworthy) up to 1066, he would for the remainder, amounting in bulk to more than three-quarters of the whole, have been compelled, to ensure accuracy, to make a collation of the transcripts or proofs with the original MSS. But Mr. Longueville Jones states, obviously as the result of his own inquiries at the Record Office, that it is certain that Mr. Ab Ithel never collated a line of the MS. there; and he adds his suspicion (which we may be sure was well grounded) that he never collated the other MSS. at the British Museum.[9] I may add that there are grounds

[8] At the end (p. xxx.) of Mr. Ab Ithel's *Preface* to *Annales Cambriæ*, acknowledgement is made of the help derived in the composition thereof from the *Preface* in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica;* from which indeed (pp. 92-4) and from Aneurin Owen's Preface to the *Ancient Laws of Wales* (see p. 148, *infra*) all that is of any value in Mr. Ab Ithel's *Preface* is copied. As his originals were in print, that "great Welsh scholar" could hardly get out of making this acknowledgement; but in his *Preface* to *Brut y Tywysogion*, nearly all the valuable portion of which was taken, largely verbatim, from Aneurin Owen's then unpublished *Introduction* to that *Brut*, there is not a word of acknowledgement, or any hint to lead the reader to suspect that the Preface is not what it purports to be, entirely Mr. Ab Ithel's own composition. We should add that of the 48 pages of which the Rolls *Preface* to the *Brut* consists, three are made up of a quotation from the Preface to Lewis Dwnn's *Heraldic Visitations of Wales*, and three more of apocryphal stuff quoted from the *Iolo MSS.;* but these quotations are properly made and acknowledged. It should also be stated that the remarks about the five editions of *Nennius* at pp. xv.—xvii. are silently abstracted (not "textually taken," as is erroneously stated in *Arch. Camb.* for 1861, p. 96) from those of Mr. Duffus Hardy in the *Preface* to the *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, pp. 109-112.

[9] *Arch. Camb.* for 1861 (3rd series, vol. vii.) pp. 330-1; and cf. *ib.*, p. 264.

for suspecting that he may have done with the *Annales* what he acknowledges [1] having done with the *Brut*, viz., have used, not Owen's transcripts, but copies of them at Llanover, previously made by Mr. W. Rees of Llandovery from the originals, lent by the Record Office to the late Lord Llanover for the purpose.[2] And here the question forcibly occurs: Where, unless Owen's original transcripts had been lost, was the necessity or advantage of using any mere copies of them? Perhaps the Record Office could throw some light on this point, and inform us whether they still have Owen's transcripts and other editorial papers, which I have understood were either lost or destroyed.[3]

[1] See his Preface thereto, p. xlviii., and his letter in *Arch. Camb.* for 1861, p. 170; and also the references in the following note.

[2] *Ib.* pp. 94-5; and cf. 103, 170, 264, 330-1.

[3] According to *Arch. Camb.* for 1861, pp. 94-5, 264, Owen's original transcripts were all returned to the Record Office in 1848, except that of the *Achau y Saint* [from Harl. MS. 4181, miserable texts still more miserably "edited"], which was retained by Mr. W. J. Rees of Cascob for inclusion in his so-called "*Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*" (published in 1853), where the *Achau* will be found at pp. 265-271.

The result of inquiries made at the Record Office by more than one person leads me to suspect that Aneurin Owen's transcripts are no longer there, and have probably been destroyed. From the list of them given on p. 94 of *Arch. Camb.* for 1861, it will be seen that they embraced many things besides (1) the materials for the official editions of *Annales Cambriæ* and *Brut y Tywysogion*, utilized by Mr. Ab Ithel, (2) the *Gwentian Chronicle*, printed as a supplement to the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1864, and (3) the *Liber Landavensis*, some of Owen's translations from which were utilized by Mr. W. J. Rees of Cascob in the wretched edition of which he was the titular editor for the *Welsh MSS. Society* (see the *Preface*, at the bottom of p. xliii.). Moreover, Owen had made extensive researches into the topography of the *Annales* and *Brut*, and had added brief footnotes to these chronicles. Up to 1066 these were printed in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica;* but the official Rolls system forbids such notes, and none were consequently reproduced in the Rolls Editions. (See *Arch. Camb.* for 1861, end of p. 267). Hence it seems but too

There is yet a further question to be considered: Is the accuracy of Aneurin Owen's work above suspicion? I fear it is not. The two later MSS. of *Annales* I have never examined, but having had occasion to edit those in the oldest MS. (Harleian 3859) for the *Cymmrodor*,[4] I noticed that Owen's edition in the *Monumenta* had no less than three serious blunders, two of which could not possibly be printer's errors. All of them are of course slavishly reproduced in the Rolls edition of Mr. Ab Ithel, who can never have looked at the original MS. The repetition of one of them (the one which *might* be a printer's error), *Loyer* for *Loycr*, now *Lloegr*, meaning 'England,' furnishes a good measure of the real character of Mr. Ab Ithel's "editorship."[5] But to

probable that all Owen's valuable notes for the period 1067—1288 are hopelessly lost. The correspondence between Aneurin Owen and Mr. W. J. Rees of Cascob, printed in *Arch. Camb.* for 1858, pp. 245-9, shows that as early as 1831 Owen was engaged in making inquiries with a view to the identification of the places named in the Welsh annals. There is some more interesting correspondence between Owen and Rees on the subject of the Welsh chronicles and the MSS. thereof at pp. 208-12 of the same volume, and another interesting letter of Owen's to the Record Commission in the vol. for 1860, pp. 184-6, relating to his transcripts and other work undertaken for the Commission.

[4] See vol. ix., pp. 152-169. I should state that I have never collated Owen's edition with the MS. or searched for mistakes in the former; but merely stumbled upon the three blunders to which I allude. There may be many more.

[5] Under the year 895. See *M.H.B.*, p. 836; Rolls *Annales*, p. 16; *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 167. Nor could Owen's blunder (under the year 630; see *M.H.B.*, p. 832; Rolls *Annales*, p. 7) of *Meiceren* for *Meicen* (now *Meigen*), for the source of which see *Y Cymmrodor*, ix., note 4 to p. 157, have "passed" a competent revision of the proofs against the MS. The imaginary "Battle of Meiceren" has been adopted by Skene in his *Four Books* (1868), i. 70 (though in the extracts from the MS. at p. 14 of his *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, printed in the previous year*, *Meicen* is correctly given), and even by Professor Rhys in his *Celtic Britain*, 2nd edition (1884), p. 131

The mistake of miscopying or slavishly repeating the gibberish

return to the question of Aneurin Owen's accuracy, I also recently collated his reproduction (in his *Preface* to the *Ancient Laws of Wales,* 8vo. ed., pp. xiv.—xvi.) of the first two genealogies which immediately follow the *Annales* in the same MS., Harl. 3859, and are thence correctly printed in *Y Cymmrodor,* ix. 169-172, and I then found that he had made no less than twenty-five blunders of transcription in the course of one hundred and twenty-five words, i.e., an average of one mistake for every five words. If, then, he made so many mistakes in copying this beautifully-written MS., what are we to expect to find in his transcripts of far later and worse-written MSS., abounding in contractions? His worthless edition of the genealogies in question has, by the way, been exactly reproduced, but without any acknowledgement of the direct source whence it was taken[6], by Mr. Ab Ithel in the *Preface* to the *Annales Cambriæ,* of which he claims the authorship (p. x.).

I have necessarily had to go into all these details, for without doing so I could not show you what a strong case there is against trusting in the present editions of the *Annales.* Unfortunately I have never collated either of the later MSS. of the *Annales* myself, or I could have put my case in a shorter and more direct form.[7]

Meiceren for *Meicen* is a particularly inexcusable one for any Welsh scholar to make: as the battle is alluded to under the name of *Meigen* more than once in well-known Welsh poems: in the *Englynion Cadwallon ap Cadfan* (Skene's *Four Books,* ii. 277), and in Cynddelw's two poems on the "Tribes" and "Privileges" of Powys (*Myv. Arch.,* i. 256-8), where *Ueigen* is the last word of each poem. What makes Owen's blunder the more extraordinary, is that he had himself previously edited and translated the last-named of these poems in his *Welsh Laws* (8vo. ed.. ii. 742-7).

[6] As pointed out in *Arch. Camb.* for 1861, p. 326.

[7] Since writing the above I have examined a few passages of MS. *C* (in Cott., Domitian A. i.) with the printed edition, and satisfied

I now proceed to consider the Chronicles of Welsh affairs written in Welsh, and known collectively as the *Brut*[8] *y Tywysogion*, or 'The Chronicle of the Princes.' This term is of such general and indefinite application as to be sometimes positively misleading in its use. It is properly the generic term for every chronicle of Welsh affairs *in Welsh* which begins with the death of Cadwaladr Fendigaid in 681-2[9] (since when the rulers of Wales have been technically known as *Tywysogion*, or 'Princes,' instead of *Brenhinoedd*, or 'Kings'), and ends either with or previously to the death of Llywelyn ab Gruffudd in 1288. It was begun as a continuation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's so-called *History*, the Welsh translations of which are collectively known as *Brut y Brenhinoedd*, or 'The Chronicle of the Kings,' and accordingly commences at the exact point where Geoffrey's work leaves off. All the chronicles called *Brut y Tywysogion* are apt to be promiscuously ascribed in common parlance to Caradoc of Llancarvan, author of a well-known *Life of Gildas*. Geoffrey of Monmouth, his contemporary, says at the end of his *History* (which appeared in the first half of the twelfth century) that he leaves to this Caradoc the task of writing the history of the Welsh kings after Cadwaladr[1];

myself that the proofs cannot have been collated competently (if at all) with the original MS., owing to the inexcusable mistakes which here and there occur.

[8] For the meaning and origin of this word *Brut*, see Gwenogvryn Evans' *Preface* to *The Red Book of Hergest*, vol. ii. (*The Bruts*), pp. v., vi.

[9] See *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 159; Rolls *Annales*, p. 8; Rolls *Brut*, pp. 2-3.

[1] Book xii. chapter 20. "Reges autem illorum qui ab illo tempore [sc., morte Cadwalladri] in Gualiis successerunt; Karadoco Lancarbanensi contemporaneo meo, in materia scribendi permitto. Reges vero Saxonum Guillelmo Malmesberiensi et Henrico Hun-

and it seems probable that Caradoc was the author of the oldest form of the *Brut* as far as 1120, at which date the change of authorship becomes very marked.[2] Later on, the work was continued by various hands, and there are strong grounds for believing the work of compilation of at least one version, namely, that of which a copy is found in the *Red Book of Hergest*, to have taken place at Strata Florida or Ystrad Fflûr after its foundation in 1164.[3]

tingdonensi, quos de regibus Britonum tacere jubeo," &c. As if any of Geoffrey's contemporaries would have ventured to infringe on his prerogative as *facile princeps* in the art of historical lying!—or perhaps it would be more polite to say "romancing."

[2] See Owen's *Introduction to Brut y Tywysogion*, pp. x.—xiv.; he points out that Geoffrey's *History*, in which the allusion to Caradoc is found, was published circa 1128. On p. viii. he quotes Guttyn Owain's opinion (but he does not state where this opinion is recorded) to the effect that Caradog's work ended with the year 1156; but no change of style is said to occur at this date in the narrative.

[3] See Owen's *Introduction*, pp. xv., xvi. (=Mr. Ab Ithel's *Preface*, pp. xxxvi.-vii.). The word *Ystrad* has nothing whatever to do with the Latin *stratum* or *strata*, as certain antiquaries do and still more did vainly talk; *strata* would become *ystrawd*, *ystrod* in Welsh, as its derivative *stratura* has become *ystrodyr* (for *ystrodur*). *Ystrad* means, like *dyffryn*, 'a vale,' and its translation into *strata* in such cases as *Strata Florida* and *Strata Marcella* is as much a fancy translation as is *Rose of the Quarter Sessions* from *Rose des quatre saisons*. In older Welsh the form *ystred* (if indeed this is a bye-form of the same word) is found as well as *ystrad*, but never *ystrawd* or *ystrod*. *Ystret*, by the way, occurs in the *Book of Taliessin* (Skene's *Four Books*, ii. 172) in *Katelliy ystret* 'the vale (or the stream?) of Cadelling' (the royal tribe of ancient Powys); and *ystred* is also found in Lewis Glyn Cothi's *Works*, p. 187 (line 49 of the poem), where he is addressing the river Towy, and the word seems to mean 'a stream.' Presumably the Cornish *stret* 'latex' (i.e., 'a spring of water'), later *streyth*, is the same word. This word, or else the Cornish analogue to the Welsh *ystrad*, occurs (in its latest Cornish form) in the place-name *Penstrassa* or *Penstrassow*, where the final *-a* or *-ow* is the Cornish plural *-ow*, answering to the Old-Welsh *-ou*, now written *-au*. One place called *Penstrassa* is three miles S.-W. of the town of St. Austell. Are these words connected with the common Breton word

I may add that all known forms of the *Brut* are in their earliest portions mere translations, and often very bad ones too, of the edition of the *Annales* now represented by the MS. at the Record Office (MS. *B*), and these parts have little or no independent value; but that towards the end of the ninth century, or thereabouts, distinct traces of an independent source begin to appear, and the record thus acquires a value of its own.

The only man who has hitherto attempted to go critically into the question of the history and authorship of the oldest forms in which this chronicle is known, is Aneurin Owen. His proposed *Introduction* to the *Brut* (with a letter of his on the same subject [4]) was posthumously printed as an introduction to his text of the *Gwentian Chronicle* in the *Arch. Camb.* for 1864; and to that *Introduction* and letter I would refer you for further details. I must add that the MS. *Introduction* had been previously lent by the Record Office to Mr. Ab Ithel to aid him in preparing his edition of the *Brut*, and this worthy scholar appropriated it nearly *in toto* in the published *Preface* of the Rolls Edition, of which he professed to be the sole editor, without a word of acknowledgement, but with many additions (mostly valueless) and trivial and meaningless changes, and at least one deliberate and most disingenuous suppression of an important fact.[5]

Whatever is not Aneurin Owen's in the Rolls Preface consists for the most part of mere flatulent dilatation of emptiness,—the sort of unsatisfactory stuff of which those who have read the ridiculous prefaces to the *Barddas*, *Dosparth Edern*, and *Meddygon Myddfai* must already have

ster, 'a river,' or with the Welsh *ystre*, which so often occurs in the old poems, but is (we believe) of uncertain signification, in spite of its Pughese and other interpretations?

[4] Dated Nantglyn, Jan. 20th, 1829.

[5] See p. 165, *infra*, and note 6 thereon.

had their dreary fill. And it is much to be wished, in the interests of Welsh historical knowledge, that Aneurin Owen's original preface (with, if possible, the portions thereof annexed and garbled by Mr. Ab Ithel put in parallel columns) should be reprinted in a more accessible and popular form. Tardy justice would thus be done to the memory of one of the greatest of Welsh historical scholars; and those who take interest in Welsh History would have the satisfaction of drinking from the pure stream of Welsh scholarship before the influx into it of the frothy drivel of dishonest charlatanism. Meanwhile you will find a masterly series of exposures of this barefaced act of literary appropriation in the volume of *Arch. Camb.* for 1861,[6] in three reviews believed to have been written by the late Mr. Longueville Jones. Mr. Ab Ithel's rejoinder to the first of these reviews will be found in the same volume.

I have spoken above of "the *oldest* version of the *Brut.*" It would be more correct to say *one* of the old versions, viz., the one printed in the Rolls Edition.[7] Of this two MSS. were used by Owen and Mr. Ab Ithel. One,[8] perfect, is found in

[6] The reviews of *Brut y Tywysogion* at pp. 93—103 and 263—7; Mr. Ab Ithel's rejoinder to the first of them, pp. 169—171; and the review of *Annales Cambriæ* (see note 6 on p. 143, *supra*) at pp. 325—332. The volume is the 7th of the 3rd Series.

[7] The statements in this paper as to MSS. and versions of the *Brut y Tywysogion* have been mostly allowed to stand as they were originally read at Brecon in August, 1889; but a large number of them, derived from the comparatively meagre entries in the printed catalogue of the Hengwrt MSS., and from Aneurin Owen's notes on some of those MSS., require revision and correction in the light of the admirable critical survey which a close examination of the originals at Peniarth has enabled Mr. Gwenogvryn Evans to make of all the versions of *Brut y Tywysogion* preserved there; for which see the *Introduction* to the second volume of the *Red Book of Hergest*, containing *The Bruts* (Oxford, 1890).—E.P., August, 1890.

[8] Evans' No. 2. *Introd. to Bruts*, p. xxii.

the *Red Book of Hergest*, a MS. of the later, the other,[9] very imperfect, in Hengwrt MS. 16, a MS. of the earlier fourteenth century. The former, being perfect, was chosen as the text, but every variant from the latter purports to be given in the critical notes. These two MSS. represent a virtually identical text. As to the *Red Book* copy, *that* had been printed in the *Myvyrian Archaiology* (vol. ii. pp. 391-467); and it will be exactly reprinted from the MS. in a manner which guarantees absolute fidelity of reproduction by Mr. Gwenogvryn Evans in his forthcoming volume of *Old Welsh Texts*.[1] As to the Hengwrt MS., Mr. Ab Ithel, in ascribing it to the *thirteenth* century,[2] was as far wrong as Mr. Longueville Jones, who in correcting him calls it of the *fifteenth*.[3] The late Mr. Wynne of Peniarth, in his Catalogue of the Hengwrt MSS., rightly ascribes it to the *fourteenth* century.[4]

Only these two MSS. have been printed or collated in the *Monumenta* or Rolls Editions. The other three MSS. used were only (to use Owen's phrase) "*collated as to* FACTS,"[5] the verbal differences between all of them and the version used for the text being so great as to render any collation of verbal differences—in other words, any real collation at all—out of the question. These other three

[9] *Id., ib.*, No. 1.

[1] This has now been done. See *op. cit.*, pp. 257—384.

[2] See his *Preface*, p. xlv. His exact words are: "It was probably written about the end of the thirteenth century." Aneurin Owen, who calls this MS. "A," dated it about 1400. (*Introduction*, p. xvii.)

[3] *Arch. Camb.* for 1861, p. 264.

[4] See *Arch. Camb.* for 1869 (3rd Series, vol. xv.), p. 214. Evans says that this MS. was written in about 1335. There is a "facsimile" of a page of the MS. in the Rolls Edition.

[5] See Aneurin Owen's *Introduction*, pp. xvii.—xviii.; and Mr. Ab Ithel's *Preface*, p. xlvii.

versions, therefore (except that one of them was printed in the *Myv. Arch.*), still remain unpublished.

As to the first and most important of the three, the carelessness of Aneurin Owen,[6] who certainly *could* tell what the age of a MS. was, and the palæographical inexperience of Mr. Ab Ithel, who most probably could not,[7] have utterly blinded the public as to its real importance and value. Owen in his *Introduction* calls it of about the 16th century; and Mr. Ab Ithel, who must have seen the MS., merely copies his statement. The volume now forms Hengwrt MS. No. 51, and the late Mr. Wynne of Peniarth[8] ascribes it in his catalogue to the earlier 14th century, thus making it as old as the oldest MS. of the earlier printed version.[9] The MS., which I have seen, is a very fine one written in a large hand in double columns, and is briefly continued in a later fifteenth-century hand from 1287 to 1332; but this appendix has never been printed in any form.[1] What makes this MS. peculiarly interesting is that Owen calls it a "Gwynethian," or Venedotian, MS.[2] If it is really a MS. composed

[6] The mistake must be Owen's, and not a printer's error; for it occurs *both* in the preface to Mr. Ab Ithel's *Brut y Tywysogion* (pp. xlv.—xlvi.), into which the statement was copied from Owen's then unpublished MS., and in the *Introduction* printed by the Cambrian Archæological Association from the same MS. (pp. xvii.—xviii.).

[7] Mr. Ab Ithel certainly made use of the Hengwrt collection, though apparently before the late Mr. Wynne, who first properly arranged and catalogued it, had become its actual owner. See his *Preface* to *Brut y Tywysogion*, p. xlviii.

[8] See *Arch. Camb.* for 1869 (3rd Series, vol. xv.), p. 222.

[9] Evans (*Introduction*, p. xxii.) makes it, however, to be of the 15th century; he now tells me that there can be no doubt about this (March, 1891).

[1] See its concluding passage printed and translated in note 5 on next page.

[2] This is confirmed by Evans (*l.c.*), who points out that, while the body of the MS. is in the same hand as the *Dares Phrygius* in

in N. Wales, it is, with the exception of the Venedotian Code, and perhaps Dafydd Ddu Hiraddug's *Grammar*, of which there is also said to be a copy in Hengwrt MS. 51, the only specimen hitherto known to exist of North Welsh prose earlier than the end of the 15th century,[3] the Welsh literary *prose* language prior to that date being of South-, not of North-Welsh origin, and most of the specimens of it, I believe, *transcribed* in South Wales too. It occurs to me as not impossible that this MS. may be the actual copy of the *Brut* quoted by Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt as the *Book of Conway*,[4] and that it may have come from the abbey of Conway or Maenan. One of its final entries, describing the discovery of Harold's body in an uncorrupted state in St. John's Church in Chester in 1332, seems to connect it with North rather than South Wales.[5] I may add that the MS. contains a peculiar

Cleopatra B. v., the continuation is in the same hand as the so-called *Brut y Saeson* (see note 3 on p. 160, *infra*), in the same MS. The *Dares* of Cleopatra B. v. belonged to Humphrey Lloyd, and has his autograph at the beginning.

[3] This statement requires modification. Mr. Evans states in his *Preface*, p. xv., that the Dingestow MS. of *Brut y Brenhinoedd* (and therefore the Triads and *Bonedd y Saint* in Hengwrt MS. 54, which once formed part thereof: see his p. xiii.) is in the Venedotian orthography. A characteristic of this orthography in the 12th-13th centuries would appear to be the use of *e* to designate the "obscure" sound of *y*, as in *Ewein*, Hengwrt MS. 54, fo. 53[a].

[4] See Owen's *Introduction*, p. xv.; Mr. Ab Ithel's *Preface*, p. xxxvi. But it would be desirable to compare the citations made by Robert Vaughan (in *British Antiquities Revived*, ed. 1834, pp. 14, 37, 44) with the corresponding passages in Hengwrt MS. 51.

[5] The chronicle ends thus:

"Anno 2 gwedy kalanmei y kat corf Harald brenhyn lloigyr yneglwys Ieuan yn gaer lleon gwedy y gladu mwy no dev cant mlyned kyn no hynny. ac y kat y gorf ay goron ay dillat. ay hossanev lledyr. ay yspardunev evreit. kyn gynaet ac yn gystal ev harroglev ar dyd y cladpwyt wynt. En yr vn vlwydyn yn gilch gwil vihangel ydaeth Edward de Bailol a bychydic lu git ac ef y geisiav goresgyn

character for the Welsh sound *edd* (or double *d*) which I believe is not found elsewhere, somewhat resembling one of the Latin contractions for *-que* in the sense of 'and.'[6]

The other two versions differ still more widely from the printed version, and, to judge from the collations in places, still more considerably from each other. One is wrongly called the *Brut y Saeson*,[7] and is found in a Cottonian MS. (*Cleopatra B.* v.) at the British Museum, a fine MS. of the 15th century, and has thence been printed in vol. ii. of the *Myv. Arch.* (pp. 468-582), with what accuracy I cannot say, but probably not up to the standard of modern scholarship. This version is said to be mainly composed by amalgamating one of the older versions with the *Annals of Winton*.[8]

Prydyn:" i.e., "In the second year, after May Day, was found the body of Harold, king of England, in St. John's Church in Chester, buried more than 200 years before. And his body and his crown and his clothes and his leather hose and his golden spurs were found as perfect, and smelling as sweet, as the day when they were buried. And in the same year about Michaelmas Edward de Baliol went with a little army to try and conquer Scotland."

[6] See a representation of this character in Evans' *Introduction*, p. xxii. end.

[7] This is the nomenclature of the *Myvyrian Archaiology*; Aneurin Owen (*Introduction*, p. xviii.) extends the term *Brut y Saeson* so as also to include the other MS. (the *Book of Basingwerk*). For the origin of the title, see note 3 on p. 160, *infra*.

[8] See Owen's *Introduction*, pp. xviii., xxiii.; Rolls *Preface*, p. xlvi. In this MS., as in many others, the *Brut y Tywysogion* immediately follows the *Brut y Brenhinoedd*.

Evans does not include this MS. in his survey of the MSS. of the *Brut y Tywysogion* at pp. xxii.-iii., though he includes it in his list of MSS. of the other *Brut* at p. xvi., of his *Introduction*. His note 1 on p. xvi. takes for its text the interpolated and composite character of the *Bruts* in Cleopatra B. v.; but we do not know what foundation there is for his suggestion in that note that there was any connection between the tampering with and falsification of texts and the spirit of Welsh *Eisteddfodau* or *Eisteddfodwyr* as early as the fifteenth century. The great falsifiers of early Welsh texts and traditions (between whose "spirit" and certain regrettable sides of the modern

The third of the three versions has never been printed in any form. It is that contained in the *Book of Basingwerk* (so called from having belonged to the Abbey of that name in Flintshire), in the autograph of the celebrated Guttyn Owain, who wrote it in the latter half of the 15th century; it now belongs to the Rev. T. Llewelyn Griffith, Rector of Deal.[9] Some valuable historical information as to the compilation of the *Brut*, quoted by Aneurin Owen[1] from Guttyn, seems to come from this MS.; but unfortunately neither Guttyn's own words, nor the reference to where they are found, is adduced. It differs considerably from *Brut y Saeson*; but how much can of course never be known till the two texts are properly examined and compared.

You will see from what has been said that two of the most important versions of the *Brut*, one of the early, the other of the late 15th century, remain in MS.; whilst a third is only printed in the *Myvyrian Archaiology*. But this is far from fully representing the real state of the case. There are known to be many other MSS. and versions which have never been examined at all, or

revived *Eisteddfod* we admit there is much relationship to be traced) were the later antiquaries of Morganwg to whom we owe the "Third Series" of Triads (ridiculously quoted by outsiders as "The Welsh Triads" or "The Historical Triads" *par excellence*), the *Achau y Saint* (and many other documents) printed in the Iolo MSS., and most of the contents of *Barddas*. The composition of such literature seems to us to have been confined to one of the four chief districts of Wales, and not to have commenced as early as the 15th century, or much before 1600.

[9] The *Book of Basingwerk* commences with an imperfect MS. of *Brut y Brenhinoedd* written in the 14th century. This was completed, and the *Brut y Tywysogion* added, by Guttyn Owain towards the end of the 15th. (See Aneurin Owen's *Introduction*, p. xviii., *Rolls Preface*, p. xlvi.)

[1] *Introduction*, pp. viii., xiv., xv. (Mr. Ab Ithel's *Preface*, pp. xxvii., xxxvi.); for some account of the MS. Cleop. B. v. and the *Book of Basingwerk*, see Owen, p. xviii., and Ab Ithel, pp. xlvi.-vii.

which Owen cursorily examined, but did not use;[2] and there is strong reason to believe that proper inquiries and searches would reveal many others.[3]

Owen, who catalogued the portion of the present Mostyn collection which was then at Gloddaith, but, for some reason with which we are not acquainted, made no use of it for the purpose of his edition of the *Brut y Tywysogion*, says[4] that there were (in 1824 or previously) three MSS. of the *Brut* in that collection.[5] It is understood that none of these MSS. are older than the 15th century;

[2] These are mentioned by Owen, not in his *Introduction* proper, but in the letter appended thereto (paged xix.-xxiv.), dated Jan. 20, 1829.

[3] One of these is the so-called "*Ll. MS.*," inaccurately collated by the editors of the *Myvyrian Archaiology*, but to which Owen and Ab Ithel had no access. This MS. (once belonging to the Rev. John Lloyd of Caerwys), after having been (apparently for years) kept in so damp a place that many of its leaves are simply rotten and have absolutely grown into each other with quite recent mildew, has now been rescued (just in time) from its tomb, and may at length be said to be fairly *dried*. It is a beautifully written paper MS. of the early 16th century, and is copied from some old text which certainly is not the *Red Book*, though both texts contain the same version of the *Brut*. It is nearly perfect, and has providentially escaped the fate of the valuable paper Court Rolls with which it has been recently kept, a large portion of which is (alas!) past praying for—so rotten and, in parts, grown into one mass with mildew that practically no use can be made of it.—August, 1890.

[4] *Introduction*, p. xvii.; mostly copied by Mr. Ab Ithel, *Preface*, pp. xl.-i.

[5] In Aneurin Owen's *Catalogue of MSS. in N. Wales*, in vol. ii. (Part iv.) of the old *Cymmrodorion Transactions*, pp. 400-18, mention is made of the following MSS. of *Dares Phrygius* and the *Bruts*, all of which are now presumably at Mostyn:

(1) In the Gloddaith MSS. (pp. 402-3): *Dares* and both *Bruts* in Nos. 4 (written 1487) and 10 (vellum, 4to); *Brut y Brenhinoedd* and *B. y Saeson* in No. 6 (evidently a modern transcript); and *B. y Brenhinoedd* alone in No. 11 (vellum, 4to); *Dares* and *B. y Brenhinoedd* in No. 23 (small 4to).

(2) In the Bodysgallen MSS. (pp. 400-401); *Dares* and *Brut y B.* in Nos. 4 (Imperfect, vellum, 4to.) and 17 (Imperfect, 4to).

Mention is also made among the Downing MSS. (p. 401) of a MS.

but even if this is the case, they may be copies of older MSS. which have now perished. Owen's next sentence begins with the words, "At Bodysgallen," and then abruptly breaks off; but apparently he was about to mention other MSS. there. In Hengwrt MS. No. 314 he found in 1829 another copy on vellum,[6] which he says was similar to (but he does not say identical with) the *Red Book* version. This MS. could not be found by the late Mr. Wynne when he concluded his Hengwrt catalogue in 1870, but he had previously identified it, before the MSS. were bequeathed to him in 1859.[7] Whether it has since been discovered at Peniarth I cannot say; it was on vellum, and therefore probably at least as old as the 15th century. Another MS., of the early 15th century, has quite recently been discovered by

of *Dares* in No. 4, one of *Brut y Brenhinoedd* in No. 5 (this is the original of Evans' No. 22, p. xviii.), and one of *B. y Tywysogion* in No. 6.

We are unable, at the place where this is written, to consult the volume of the *Report of the Historical MSS. Commission* in which is contained some sort of a catalogue of the MSS. now at Mostyn; but we may mention that at the recent visit (in August, 1890) of the Cambrian Archæological Association to Mostyn Hall there were exhibited to us in a glass case, together with some other MSS., the Gloddaith MSS. Nos. 3 (History of England and Wales, by Ellis Griffith; 16th cent.), 5 (*Sant Greal*, vellum, fo. 14th or 15th century), 14 (Giraldus Cambrensis' *Itinerary and Description of Wales*, vellum, 4to: 14th century ?), and a beautiful MS. of *Brut y Brenhinoedd* of the later 13th century, written, as far as we could judge, in the same style, if not hand, as the *Book of Taliessin* (Hengwrt MS. 17), Hengwrt MS. 59, Cott. Cleopatra, A. xiv., and Harleian MS. 4353 (see *Y Cymmrodor*, x. 298). As far as we can make out, this MS. seems to be either Gloddaith MS. 10 or 11. None of the MSS. of *Brut y Tywysogion* now preserved at Mostyn were shown to us on the above-mentioned occasion. The MSS. which were at Mostyn in 1824 (the "Mostyn MSS." proper) were not catalogued by Aneurin Owen; but in Angharad Llwyd's list of those MSS., made at the same date, in her *Catalogue of MSS. in N. Wales* (*Cymmrodorion Transactions*, ii. (Part 1), 47–8) there is no mention of any MSS. of Dares or either *Brut*.

[6] Letter in *Introduction*, p. xxi.

[7] See *Arch. Camb.* for 1870 (4th Series, vol. i.), p. 96.

Mr. Gwenogvryn Evans in Hengwrt MS. No. 15. And I would draw your particular attention to the fact that the *Brut y Tywysogion* in this MS., as so often, immediately follows the *Brut y Brenhinoedd;* but that both in the case of this MS. and in that of No. 314 the Catalogues of the Hengwrt MSS. (at least Aneurin Owen's and the late Mr. Wynne's) only mention the 'Chronicle of the Kings,' ignoring that 'of the Princes.' Is it not therefore highly probable that some more of the many unexamined old copies of the former *Brut* may also have the latter *Brut* appended to them?

There are several other comparatively modern copies of the *Brut y Tywysogion* at Peniarth. Hengwrt MSS. Nos. 55[8] and 332[9] each contain a copy in the hand of that indefatigable transcriber of older MSS. and joint-founder of the Hengwrt Collection, John Jones of Gelli Lyfdy. Owen mentions No. 55, but neither No. 332 nor the early 16th century copy in No 441,[1] once Edward Llwyd's, from the Sebright Collection; nor another copy in No. 319,[2] in the autograph of the well-known Gruffudd Hiraethog. The latter MS. also contains a so-called "Chronicle from Cadwaladr to Elizabeth," and I may mention that there is at least one later compilation of this sort in the Earl of Macclesfield's collection at Shirburn Castle, Oxon.

Of the version of the *Brut* known as *Brut y Saeson*[3] there

[8] Owen, p. xxi.; Evans' No. 5; said by him to be a transcript mostly of Hengwrt MS. 15, which is itself a transcript of the *Red Book* copy.

[9] Evans' No. 10; supposed by him to be a transcript of Hengwrt 51, but supplying certain *lacunæ* which now exist in the latter.

Evans' No. 4. Said by him to be a transcript of Hengwrt MS. 15.

[2] Evans' No. 6. Supposed by him to be a transcript of Hengwrt MS. 15, but with a great many minor changes.

[3] As pointed out by Evans in his *Introduction*, p. xxiii., much confusion has been caused by the adoption of the title *Brut y Saeson*,

seems to be more than one copy at Peniarth. The first of these forms one of the transcripts by John Jones in the above-mentioned Hengwrt MS. 55; it is said by Owen[4] to differ in language from the copy in the Cottonian collection mentioned above (Cleopatra B. v.). A remarkable feature about this copy is that it is said in parts to agree with the *Red Book* version, in other parts with the inedited 14th century version in Hengwrt MSS. 51.[5] The second copy, not mentioned by Owen, seems to be of still greater interest. It occurs in No. 318, and is there said to have been trans-

exclusively used in MSS. to designate the epitome of English history (not of the *Brut y Tywysogion*, as stated by Evans) printed at pp. 385–403 of his volume, by the editors of the *Myvyrian Archaiology* to denote the text of *Brut y Tywysogion* which they printed (vol. ii. pp. 468—582) from Cott. Cleopatra B. v., which is headed in the MS. with the words "*yma y dechereu Brenhined y Saesson.*" (By these words it was meant to be implied that the rulers *of the Cymry* were no longer *brenhinedd*, or 'kings,' after 681—see p. 149, *supra*). Of the MSS. mentioned in this paragraph of the text the only ones given by Evans as texts of the *Brut y Saeson* proper are Hengwrt MSS. 8 (which he ascribes to the 15th century), 275 (for which Owen's "75" is clearly a misprint), 318, and 441; but he also gives other texts as occurring in Hengwrt MSS. 15 and 218. Aneurin Owen extended the term *Brut y Saeson* (*Introduction*, p. xviii.) so as to include Guttyn Owain's text in the *Book of Basingwerk* as well as that in Cleopatra B. v., both texts being similar; and in the letter appended to the *Introduction* (pp. xxiii.—iv.) he applies the term to Cleop. B. v. and Hengwrt MS. 55, as well as to Hengwrt MS. 275, which contains the real *Brut y Saeson*, and which he there miscalls "75."

Here and elsewhere I have preferred to let my paper stand as it was read in August, 1889, and to ask the reader to refer to my notes, and, where necessary, to the pages cited from Mr. Evans' *Introduction* for the correction of the general errors into which I was inevitably led owing to the imperfect nature of the materials available at the time when, and in the place where, this paper was compiled.—E. P., August, 1890.

[4] Letter in *Introduction*, p. xxiii.

[5] Aneurin Owen's Letter in *Introduction*, p. xxiii.

lated from the Latin by one Dafydd ab Meredydd Glais in 1444. One wonders *what* Latin original can here be referred to? A third copy is stated by Owen to occur in MS. 75,[6] but there must be some mistake as to the number, for neither that MS. (which is lost) nor any of those near it are stated in the catalogues to contain any *Brut* at all. There is a fourth copy in the already-mentioned MS. 441; and, last but not least, Mr. Wynne's catalogue says that a 14th-century *Brut y Saeson* occurs in Hengwrt MS. No. 8.[6a] I have myself got a copy of some version of the *Brut* written in about 1600,[7] which seemed to me quite different, where I compared it, from the printed versions. It comes from some North Welsh collection, and has Aneurin Owen's cataloguing label and number on its cover.[8] There is a quite distinct copy at Tonn, beautifully copied by Wm.

[6] Letter in *Introduction*, p. xxiv. See note 3 on p. 160, whence it will be seen that Owen's 75 is a mistake for 275.

[6a] Evans decides this MS. to be of the 15th century (*Preface*, p. xxiii.).

[7] This MS. is Evans' No. 7 (*Preface*, p. xxii.); he compares its writing with that of Hengwrt MS. 319.

[8] It was bought at a sale in London in 1884 or 1885, together with an imperfect autograph MS. of John Rhydderch's English-Welsh Dictionary, which also has on its cover Aneurin Owen's descriptive label (just as have some of the Hengwrt MSS.; at least, we remember such a label on Hengwrt MS. 202) and number. But neither MS. is to be found in Owen's *Catalogue of MSS.* mentioned in note 5 on p. 158, *supra*. It is a very curious thing that this Catalogue, which obtained the first prize at the Welshpool Eisteddfod in 1824, should only embrace *seven* collections (including, however, the Hengwrt one, which is a host in itself), whilst Angharad Llwyd's Catalogue (which obtained the second prize) embraces no less than 29. Presumably all Owen's Catalogue was printed; it is printed as perfect, but concludes vol. ii. (Part iv.) of the old *Cymmrodorion Transactions*, no more of which was ever issued, in consequence of the then Cymmrodorion Society coming to an end soon after the issue of the last part of its *Transactions* in 1843. In no case was the same collection catalogued by Owen and Miss Llwyd; and the Brogyntyn and Panton collections were catalogued by neither.

Bona of Llanpumpsaint (in Carmarthenshire) in 1766 from a MS. by Iago ab Dewi written in 1717, and by *him* from a MS. of Piers William Griffith of Pen y Benglog, wherever that may be. There is also a bit of the *Brut* in a 17th-century hand at Shirburn Castle,[9] which, though not itself written by Iago ab Dewi, has a page-heading in his hand. And it is my impression that there are other copies, though not early ones, at Shirburn Castle.[1]

I have omitted to mention the short epitome of some version of the *Brut*, known by the name of *Brut Ieuan Brechfa*, and I suppose originally compiled by Ieuan Brechfa towards the end of the 15th century.[2] This has been printed in the *Myv. Arch.* (vol. ii., bottoms of pp. 470—565) from a MS then belonging to Rhys Thomas the printer, of Carmarthen, but not now known to exist; but search ought to be made both for it and for other MSS. of this version.

Last of all, there is the curious compilation variously known as the *Gwentian* and *Aberpergwm Brut* or 'Chronicle.' This has been printed in the *Myv. Arch.* (vol. ii. pp. 468—582) from a transcript of a transcript of a transcript of the

[9] In the MS. numbered "113 E. 6."

[1] The Tonn copy and (as far as my extracts go) the Shirburn fragment prove to be identical, as Canon Silvan Evans had suggested to me, with the text printed in *Trysorfa Gwybodaeth, neu, Eurgrawn Cymraeg* (Caerfyrddin, 1770). Aneurin Owen, in his letter to the Rev. W. J. Rees of Cascob, dated March 5th, 1834, and printed in *Arch. Camb.* for 1858 (3rd series, vol. iv.), pp. 211–12, mentions this text, which he says was not printed further than the year 1110 in consequence of the discontinuance of the magazine in which it was appearing. Some passages of this version seem to be more or less freely translated from Powel's so-called *Historie of Cambria* (London, 1584); but probably other sources were also used.

[2] *The Book of Ieuan Brechfa* (Hengwrt MS. 114 = 414) is in his autograph, and written in a hand of about this period. What remains of the original volume (which is now bound up with No. 113, an entirely distinct MS.) contains genealogies, and no chronicle.

original, which is believed still to exist at Aberpergwm.[3] It was again copied from the *Myv. Arch.* by Aneurin Owen, and his copy, with the *Introduction*, &c., that I have already mentioned, was posthumously printed as a supplement to the *Arch. Camb.* for 1864, under the superintendence of Mr. Longueville Jones and Canon Robert Williams of Rhyd y Croesau. This chronicle extends from 660, the mythical date of the death of Cadwallon ab Cadfan,[4] to the death of Rhys ab

[3] It should be mentioned that the Aberpergwm MS. could not be consulted for the edition in the *Arch. Camb.* owing to the minority of the owner, and consequent closing of the library, in 1864.

[4] The real date was 635; that given by *Annales Cambriæ* 631; 659 or 660 is the date based on Geoffrey of Monmouth's narrative (and the Welsh translations of his work which Skene most misleadingly designates "the Welsh *Bruts*") and ridiculously favoured by Skene, *Four Books*, i. 71–3. It is most unfortunate that Messrs. Jones and Williams headed their publication (as the *Myvyrian* editors had done before them) "*Brut y Tywysogion*," as this has caused people who dabble in Welsh history to confuse it with the really old and authentic Strata Florida Chronicle (known as *the* "*Brut y Tywysogion*" *par excellence*) and to quote the *Gwentian Brut* as an historical authority for some events not mentioned elsewhere, and for which *by itself* it is of no authority whatever.

M. de la Borderie, in his *L'Historia Britonum* (1883), quotes (pp. 19—20) "the *Brut y Tywysogion*, known also under the name of 'Gwentian Chronicle' (*Chronique du pays de Gwent*)" for the death of Merfyn Frych in 844, and then adds a reference to *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, p. 835; whereto he appends a note which runs (as corrected in the *Errata* at p. 127) as follows: "The text of this chronicle (the *Brut y Tywysogion*), printed in 1801 in the Myvyrian, has been re-published (*de nouveau publié*) in London by the *Cambrian Archæological Association*, &c." (*Both* the Strata Florida *Brut* and the Gwentian *Brut* are printed in the *Myvyrian;* but it would seem as though the author, writing in 1883, had never heard of the Rolls edition of the real *Brut*, published in 1860!) Now as the chronicle he quotes from the *Monumenta* is (part of) the *Strata Florida Brut* (no other *Brut* is printed in the *Monumenta*), it will be seen that M. de la Borderie is here quoting a thirteenth or early fourteenth-century chronicle and a sixteenth-century dressing-up thereof (which bears the same relation to its prototype as an unwhole-

Gruffudd in 1196.[5] The date of its compilation has been shown by Aneurin Owen to be not earlier than about 1550, though his evidence was dishonestly suppressed by Mr. Ab Ithel in the garbled form in which the passage occurs in the Rolls edition.[6] The contents of this chronicle are

some hash does to the joint which originally furnished its basis) *as one and the same work!* After this we hardly can feel surprise at the author's quoting (p. 35) the *Brut er Brenined* (*sic!* uncorrected in the *Errata*) as a work of the *tenth* century! Inasmuch as he speaks of this work having been "amplified" by Geoffrey of Monmouth, it is clear that he refers to the so-called *Brut Tyssilio*, also regarded as Geoffrey's original by Mr. Skene (*Four Books*, i. 23–5). The oldest MS. of this form of *Brut y Brenhinoedd* is only of the 15th century (if so early); whereas the other versions (which all seem indisputably to be taken straight from Geoffrey) exist in numerous MSS. of the 13th and 14th centuries. But on what evidence any now existing form of the *Brut* can be attributed to the *tenth* century is a mystery to all scholars but M. de la Borderie.

[5] This date is a noteworthy one. Mr. Evans states in the *Introduction* to his *Bruts*, p. xxi., "that the earlier edition of *Brut y Tywysogion* ended with the death of the Lord Rhys," i.e., in 1196. Is it possible that the compiler of the *Gwentian Brut* had before him, to work his will upon, an earlier edition of the real *Brut* than is now preserved to us? It might be that a MS. of such an edition existed in the last half of the 16th century; and we suspect that the great Civil War of the next century led to the destruction of a great number of Welsh MSS.

[6] The evidence in question is the following reference in this chronicle, under the year 1114, to the Gwylliaid Cochion Mawddwy, who did not attain notoriety till the middle of the 16th century: "And with him commenced the Mawddwy banditti, who still continue to ravage the country far and near." On pp. 96–7 of the *Arch. Camb.* for 1861 will be found the whole passage of Owen's *Introduction*, printed in parallel columns with Mr. Ab Ithel's garbled version thereof, in which the fact which showed the late date of the *Gwentian Chronicle* is carefully suppressed. It is perhaps not surprising that those who practise literary piracy themselves should be anxious to conceal literary forgery in others. The respective passages will be found *per se* at pp. viii.-ix. of Aneurin Owen's *Introduction*, and at pp. xxvii.–viii. of that in the Rolls Edition. It is

largely unauthentic, and it forms a member of an extensive class of semi-forged documents written apparently between 1550 and 1650, other members of which are the *Third* Series of Triads printed in the *Myvyrian*, and the *Achau y Saint* and most of the other "historical" documents printed in the volume of the *Iolo MSS*. One and all of these documents were put together largely with the object of showing that as large a proportion as possible of the leading characters or events of Welsh History was to be localized within or near the boundaries of the present counties of Monmouth and Glamorgan;[7] and to this end many passages which

not pointed out in the *Arch. Camb.* that the sentence of Mr. Ab Ithel which begins with the words "The language" is taken from Aneurin Owen's letter printed in his *Introduction* (p. xxii.).

[7] One of the most flagrant instances of this sort of barefaced forgery is found under the year 728. In the *Annals of Ulster* (see Skene's *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, p. 356; and his *Celtic Scotland*, i. 288-9) a battle is mentioned as having taken place in 729 at *Monitcarno*, somewhere in central Scotland, between two rival kings of the Scottish Picts, Nectan, son of Derili, and Angus, son of Fergus. This entry, with others relating to the kings of the Picts found its way into the *Annales Cambriæ* (see *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 160), where it is entered as "Bellum Montis Carno." In the *Gwentian Chronicle* and in Powel's so-called *Historie of Wales* this battle is deliberately transferred to a place called Carno, not far from the Usk, and the following stories are palmed off on us concerning the event:—

Gwentian Chronicle, p. 7 (728); *Myv. Arch.*, ii. 472:—"The battle of Carno Mountain, in Gwent, where the Britons conquered after a great loss of men: and the Saxons were driven through the river Usk, where many of them were drowned on account of a flood in the river."

Powel, ed. 1584, pp. 14, 15:—"The year following, died Celredus King of Mertia, and Ethelbaldus was made king after him, who being desirous to annex the fertile soile of the countrie lieng betweene Seuerne and Wye, to his Kingdome of Mertia, gathered an armie, and entred into Wales, and destroieng all before him, he came to the mountaine *Carno*, not farre from Abergeuenny, where a sore battell was fought betweene him and the Brytaines in the yeare 728."

the compilers found in their authorities have been unscrupulously altered. These documents, one and all, contain biographical and historical statements which any one conversant with the older Welsh literature dealing with the same persons and events can readily demonstrate to be forgeries; and for this reason it is clearly impossible to be sure that when they make statements (as they often do) wholly unsupported by other authorities, they may not have

(This entry is virtually translated in the Carmarthen *Brut*—see above, pp. 162-3, and note 1 thereon: *Eurgrawn*, p. 7, Tonn MS., pp. 1-2).

The genuine *Brut y Tywysogion* alters the *Mons Carno* of the *Annales* into *Mynydd Carn*, which is in reality the name of the celebrated battle where Gruffudd ab Cynan was victorious in 1079. Conversely, the latter-day perverters of *Brut y Tywysogion* have calmly altered into *Carno* the name of this last battle, which is called "the battle of *Carn* Mountain" in that *Brut*, in the thirteenth-century *Life of Gruffudd ab Cynan*, in the *Annales Cambriæ*, and in Meilir's elegy on Trahaiarn (see *Myv. Arch.*, i. 191-2), who fell in the battle. This fictitious battle of the "mountain (or mountains) of Carno" is first mentioned, to the knowledge of the writer, in Powel's so-called *Historie of Wales*, ed. 1584, p. 114 (whence it is freely translated in the *Carmarthen Brut*, p. 74=Tonn MS., p. 8), and in the *Gwentian Chronicle*, pp. 66–7. A further development of this blunder or forgery is found in Pennant's *Tours in Wales* and later writers, who localize the battle at Carno in Montgomeryshire; but these modern wiseacres had evidently never read the *Life of Gruffudd ab Cynan*, written in the 12th or 13th century, where the Mountain of Carn is represented as being *a long day's march* ("*dirfawr ymdeith diwyrnawt*") *from St David's* (*Myv. Arch.*, ii. 593)! There is only one "battle of Carno" in strictly Welsh history, viz., that which took place in 948—950.

As for the locality of *Mynydd Carn*, it is unknown; but a place of the same name is mentioned by Lewis Glyn Cothi in his poem to Hywel ap Dafydd of Gwernan (i.e., *Gwernant;* now called Alderbrook Hall) in Tredreÿr (now called *Troed yrAur*) in Cardiganshire. See his *Works*, p. 215 (ll. 43-4 of poem):

"Nyddu coed ar Vynydd Carn
A wna Huw 'n ei ŵn haiarn."

The place is wrongly identified by the editors with the Carno near Crickhowell.

invented these statements too. Nevertheless, this chronicle has acquired such a fictitious importance, that a new edition of it, based on the original MS., and critically pointing out its relations to the older chronicles and its forged and doubtful passages, would be very welcome to historical scholars.[8]

I think you will agree with me, after all these details as to the unprinted and even unexamined MSS. of the *Brut y Tywysogion*, that what is now wanted is an edition of that chronicle in which the most important versions should be printed in parallel columns, as has been done with the six texts of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Such an edition, and also the proposed new edition of the *Annales Cambriæ*, to be of any general use and interest, should be adequately illustrated with topographical and genealogical notes, entirely lacking in the Rolls editions, and very scanty in the incomplete editions given in the *Monumenta*. It would also be desirable to add in the notes not only all the parallel entries, but also all other *early* entries relating to Wales, Cornwall, or Cumbria, scattered through the Irish, Scotch, and English Annals. And the old lists of the hundreds and commotes of Wales,[9] authentic and accurate texts of which are now only just beginning to be printed by Mr. Gwenogvryn Evans,

[8] See note (*a*) at end of article.

[9] Three such old lists, each representing a distinct text, are known to me: (1) the text from *Cwtta Cyfarwydd*, printed by Evans in *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 327—331; (2) the one in the *Red Book of Hergest*, printed very inaccurately at the bottoms of pp. 606-12 of vol. ii. of the *Myvyrian Archaiology*, and correctly by Evans as an appendix to the *Bruts* (pp. 407–12); (3) A list copied in the fifteenth century from (ultimately) a lost MS. of the twelfth or thirteenth, preserved in MS. Cott. Domitian, A. viii., and printed in Leland's *Itinerary*, ed. 1769, vol. v., fos. 16–18. A text of this, taken from the original MS. is in print, and will shortly appear in *Y Cymmrodor*. The other or first list in the *Myvyrian* (fondly imagined by most writers to have been compiled in the days of Llewelyn ap Gruffudd) is a modern text composed since the division of Wales into counties; and

should be appended either to the *Brut* or to the *Annales;* and likewise perhaps a selection of the oldest pedigrees of the various Welsh kingly and princely families of which members are mentioned in both series of chronicles. Such editions as I have attempted roughly to indicate would constitute truly great and truly national undertakings, to which Welshmen (and also Englishmen) could turn with as great pride as can Irishmen to O'Donovan's magnificent edition of the *Annals of the Four Masters.*

But the first step to be taken towards such an edition of the *Brut y Tywysogion* must necessarily be to set on foot a preliminary inquiry, entrusted to some thoroughly competent Welsh scholar such as Mr. Gwenogvryn Evans (who I may mention, is at the present moment engaged on such an investigation of the MSS. of *Brut y Brenhinoedd*[1]), as to what MSS. there are, what their mutual relations are, and what and how many parallel texts an adequate edition would have to comprise. I have given you some grounds for believing that further copies may be found in some of the unex-

is *not* in the *Red Book of Hergest*, as the note (p. 613) "*Ac velly mae yn y Llyvyr Coch yn Hergest*" ('and so it is in the *Red Book at Hergest*'; which words evidently mean that there is a *similar* list in the *Red Book*) has wrongly led people to infer. This list is practically identical with the one given by Humphrey Lloyd and Sir John Price in their *Description of Wales* (printed in Powel's *Historie of Wales*, 1584), of which the oldest known MS., dated 1559, and signed by Humphrey Lloyd, is found in MS. Caligula A. vi. of the Cottonian collection. Two MSS. of the seventeenth century, containing a list of this type, are known to the writer, who strongly suspects them and the *first* of the two Myvyrian texts (printed at the *top* of pp. 606–13 of vol. ii. of the *Myv. Arch.*) to be copied, with more or less alteration, from the work of Lloyd and Price.

[1] And also of the *Brut y Tywysogion;* but he has hitherto only been able to examine the texts of *Brut y Brenhinoedd* and *B. y Tywysogion* at the British Museum, Oxford, Peniarth, Shirburn Castle, and Dingestow Court, and in one other small private collection.—August, 1890.

plored private collections in Wales, whose contents are as unknown to me as they are to you.

I will add, as a practical suggestion, that the preparation of a proper edition of the *Annales*, all the MSS. of which are known, and all in London, might very appropriately precede one of the *Brut y Tywysogion;* and that whilst the *Annales* were being prepared for the press by one person, the extensive preliminary inquiries towards an edition of the *Brut* might simultaneously be carried on by a second person. Thus, by the time the *Annales* were ready for press, the preparation of an edition of the *Brut* might be commenced; and the person engaged in the latter and far heavier undertaking would find the edition of the *Annales* and its *Prolegomena* of the greatest use to him in the prosecution of his task.

NOTE (*a*).

No allusion has been made by me to the question of the correctness of the Rolls text of the *Brut y Tywysogion*, which I had had no opportunity of collating with its originals. I may mention here, however, that the Rolls translation contains some most misleading blunders. One is the translation of *Ystrad Tywi* by 'the Vale of Tywi' (see the Index for numerous instances of this mistranslation). Of course this is the original meaning of the two Welsh words; but in the *Brut Ystrad Tywi* does not mean the mere Vale, but the very large district which took its name therefrom, embracing most of Carmarthenshire and part of Glamorganshire.[2] Thus, when the *Brut* informs us (p. 274-5) that an army marched into this district, the translator informs us that it marched into the Vale of Towy! A similar error occurs at p. 199 (cf. p. 233), where we are told that Dafydd ap Owen Gwynedd removed the people of Tegeingl into the *Vale of*

[2] Carmarthenshire also includes the large ancient Hundred of *Cantref Gwarthaf*, which was in Dyfed (the county town of Carmarthen was in this division); whilst modern Glamorganshire includes the large commot of Gower, which was in *Ystrad Tywi*. William of Worcester (*Itin.*, p. 327) speaks of "Gowerland" as being in "comitatu de Kaermardyn."

Clwyd. Here the expression translated is *Dyffryn Clwyd*, a district which (conversely to *Ystrad Tywi*) was smaller than the actual "Vale of Clwyd," and (just as does the modern "Deanery of Dyffryn Clwyd") only comprised part thereof. Indeed the statement of the translator is an absurdity, for part of Tegeingl itself was in the Vale of Clwyd! Then at p. 289, *Cantref Gwarthaf* (i.e., 'the Upper Hundred,' sc., of Dyfed) is actually translated "the Cantref of Gwarthaf," which is as though one were to say "the Egypt of Upper" when one meant "Upper Egypt." Is it possible that the translator did not know the meaning of *gwarthaf?* An equally elementary blunder occurs on p. 367, where *tri Chwmwd o Veh Aeron*, 'the three Commotes of (the country) *above* (the river) *Aeron*,' is translated 'the 3 C. *of Upper* Aeron;' and on p. 271, where *Is Aeron* (the country *below Aeron*) is similarly translated 'Lower Aeron.' Another example of topographical ignorance will be found on p. 197, where the men of Arwystli are made to pursue certain booty "as far as *the bank* of the Severn." This statement seems on the face of it rather superfluous, as Arwystli itself lay mainly along "the bank of the Severn." But on looking at the original Welsh we find the words translated 'the bank of the Severn' to be *Gorddwr Hafren;* and what is clearly meant is that the pursuit extended as far as the *Gorddwr*, the well-known name of the border district between the English and Welsh races to the east of Ceri (now *Kerry*), which itself immediately bounded Arwystli on the east; we have not met with the full name, *Gorddwr Hafren*, elsewhere. In another place (p. 288–9) the Dimetian district-name *Pelunyawc* (which probably stands for *Peuliniog* 'Paulinus' land,' and, whatever its origin and locality, is mentioned several times elsewhere) is deliberately altered into *Penllwynog* ('Fox's Head'); an alteration worthy of another sort of *pen*, viz., a *penbwl*.

One of the most misleading practices in the whole translation (at least for readers ignorant of Welsh) is that the Welsh *Caerllion* meaning Caerleon on Usk, and *Caerlleon*, then as now meaning 'Chester', are both translated by the English 'Caerleon'; that is to say that two place-names which (though of the same origin) are distinct in the original Welsh are both translated by one and the same name, which is only known as the English designation of one of the two places. See for instance pp. 222–5, where 'Caerleon' translates the Welsh *Caerllion* (i.e., Caerleon on Usk); pp. 184–5, where it translates *Caerlleon* (i.e., Chester), or pp. 290–1, where *Swydd Caerlleon*, i.e., Cheshire, is translated '*the county of Caerleon*'! So *Gwyddyl* is translated 'Gwyddelians' instead of 'Irish,' and William the Conqueror is styled 'King of the *Albanians*,' the last word being meant to translate *Albanwyr*, i.e., 'Scots' (p. 53).

Then, in an English translation, the English names of places, where they differ from the Welsh, should at least be inserted in brackets. How is any one not conversant with Welsh topography to know, for instance, that *Aberhodni* (pp. 251, 283, 298–301, 318–21; which now, by the way, is called in Welsh *Aberhonddu*) means Brecon, that *Gwyddgrug* (p. 173) means Mold, that *Llanymddyvri* means Llandovery, that *Rhoshîr* (p. 189; the original, by the way, has *Rossyr*, and the old form, found in the Life of St. Cybi, is *Rosuir*[3], i.e., *Rhôs fyr*, which means the exact opposite to *Rhos hîr*) means Newborough in Anglesey, and that *Talacharn* (now in Welsh called *Lacharn*), *Trefdraeth*, and *Euelvre* (pp. 213, 219, 287, 289, 345; the last would in modern Welsh be *Efelfre*, by the way) are in English parlance Laugharne, Newport (Pembrokeshire), and Velfrey respectively? or that by "the Glen of Teyrnon" (p. 231) Lantarnam is meant? Here, by the way, the Welsh is *Nant Teyrnon*, and *nant* does not necessarily mean 'a glen;' if, indeed, it ever bears that signification in South and Central Wales, where it usually, if not invariably, means 'a brook' nowadays (see *Y Cymmrodor*, xi. 42).—And yet the translator is not even consistent in this sort of mystification; for at pp. 181, 183, 235, *Dinbych* is correctly translated into the 'Tenby' of the hated Saxon, who would have been somewhat puzzled to fix the locality of *Dinbych y Pysgod*, and indeed is given to fondly fancying that *Tenby* is so called from the *Danes!* Likewise on pp. 177, 201, 293, *Croes Hyswallt* is correctly rendered 'Oswestry,' instead of by its modern Welsh name *Croes Oswallt;* and similarly at p. 265 *Treffynnon* is intelligibly translated into 'Holywell.'

Then on what principle is the name of a district in Cardiganshire, *Mabwynion*, correctly reproduced in the translation on p. 291, whilst on p. 199 *Castell Mabwynyon* (the castle in, and named from, the said district) becomes 'the Castle of the Son of Gwynion'? *Cwmwd Mabwynion* may indeed have been so called from some 'son of Gwynion' (*Mab Gwynion*), just as *Gwynionydd*, another district of Cardiganshire, means 'the tribe of Gwynion'; but translators have no business to alter established and technical names in order

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[3] See *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 186. "Et venit ad oppidum, quod dicitur hodie Merthir Caffo, et ibi occiderunt *Rosiur* pastores Caffo." Here the MS. may perhaps be made to read either *Rosiur* or *Rosuir*. The last words mean 'and there the shepherds of Rhosfyr slew Caffo;' the place is now called Llangaffo, the church of which is three miles from Newborough. *Rhos Fyr* would be quite regularly softened into *Rhosyr*, like *Llanfor* into *Llannor*, *Llanfol* into *Llanol*, &c.

to meet their etymological views—which are matter for notes or a Glossary (and even the Rolls system allows Glossaries, though it forbids illustrative notes).

Not to mention such comparatively well-known names as *Aberteifi* for 'Cardigan' and *Llanelwy* for 'St. Asaph,' which are left untranslated *passim*, other instances of the failure to render Welsh place-names into their English equivalents may be found at p. 321, where we have in the English translation "the Castle of *Maes Hyveidd*" (Radnor Castle; in modern Welsh the name has become *Maesyfed*), *Aberhodni* (Brecon), *Colunwy* (Clun), "the Vale of Teveidiog" (*Dyffryn Tefeiddiog* was the name of a small district, and means 'the Vale of *Teme*," which river in old English was called *Temede*, *Temde*, and in Welsh apparently **Tefaidd*[4]), *Trallwng* (Welshpool; see also p. 361), "The Red Castle" (Powys Castle), and *Aber Mynyw* (a gross scribal blunder, not even pointed out, for *Aber Mynwy*, i.e., Monmouth).—Also *Llanbedr Tal Pont Stephan* (for Lampeter), p. 317; *Gelli* and *Maes Hyveidd* (for Hay and Old Radnor), p. 293; "the Earl of *Caer Loyw*" (i.e., the Earl of Gloucester), p. 297; *Llanuhadein*[5] (Llawhaden), pp. 237–9; *Nyver* (Nevern), pp. 237, 241; *Caer Rhiw* (Carew), p. 371; *Aber Corran* (Laugharne), p. 235; and *Trallwng Llywelyn* (Welshpool), pp. 109, 243.

Misleading translations of Welsh place-names are: P. 219, *Newcastle upon Usk;* here the Welsh name, *Castell Newydd ar Wysg*, now survives as *Casnewydd;* but how many English can be expected to know that the place meant is the town of Newport?—P. 205,

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[4] Another derivative form, *Tefeiddiad*, existed, as well as *Tefeiddiog;* it occurs in two of the three old lists of Welsh territorial divisions (for which see note 9 on p. 168, *supra*); see *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 329, where the district is called *Dyffryn Teueiddyat*, and Leland's *Itin.*, v. 17, where it is corruptly spelt *Dyfrynsedat*. William of Worcester, also, writing in the 15th century, calls the river '*Tavidiot* aqua' (*Itin.*, p. 320). John David Rhys, the grammarian, who lived for a while at Bugeildy in the upper Vale of Teme (then, three centuries ago, a Welsh-speaking district), calls the place in the last paragraph of the Preface to his *Grammar* (1592) 'y Bugeildy ynn Nyphryn *Tabhîda*.' The modern English form *Teme* is shortened from an older *Temde;* Leland, *Itin.*, iv. 179-180, uses the forms *Temde*, *Temd*, and *Teme;* and the older Anglo-Saxon form was *Temede* or *Tamede* (see Offa's charter in Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum*, i. 307-8).

[5] This form is invented by the translator. The original Welsh has *Llan y Hadein*. For the name see Owen's *Description of Pembrokeshire* (1892), Additional Note (*a*).

Raeadyr, 'the cataract'; but the stream called *Rhaiadr* is meant, and *Mochnant is* and *uwch Rhaiadr* mean the part of 'Mochnant below' and 'above' that stream respectively, in accordance with a very common principle of dividing the old Welsh hundreds into commotes.—Pp. 213, 227, 233, 315: *Y Ty Gwyn* (*ar Daf*), 'the White House (upon Tav)', by which *Whitland* is meant (called now, by the way, by natives of Whitland, not *Ty Gwyn*, but *Hendy Gwyn*). And yet, on p. 326-7, the Welsh name appears translated as 'Whitland.' —Pp. 361, 367: *Cwmmwd Perfedd* 'the middle comot' (without capitals); but *Cwmmwd Perfedd* was the technical name for one of the divisions of Uwch Aeron in Cardiganshire.—Pp. 341, 369: *Perfeddwlad* 'the Midland District'; here again, the meaning of the name is correctly given, but *Perfeddwlad* was the technical name for a large district which was anything but 'midland,' forming as it did the north-eastern extremity of North Wales, and bounded as it was on three sides by sea or estuary.[6]—P. 301, *Mynydd Du*, 'the Black Mountain.' The mountains called in English the Carmarthen Vans are meant. The Welsh name is still in use; but English people generally mean by the 'Black Mountain' a very different mountain, namely, the long hog's back stretching between Hay and Abergavenny. At p. 261 Hywel Sais ap yr Arglwydd Rhys is said to have been stabbed "*at* Cemaes." But the Welsh is *yg Kemeis* 'in Cemais,' and no particular place, but the district of Kemmes in Pembrokeshire, is intended. (For the word *Cemais*, see *Y Cymmrodor*, xi. 42–3.) At pp. 200–1 we find the form *Moelmant*, obviously a scribe's or printer's mistake for *Mochnant*, which, if it really exists in the *Book of Basingwerk*, ought to have been corrected in a footnote; and at pp. 62-3, the fairly correct form *Rychmarch* of the older texts (transliterated from some such older form as *Richemarch*, the first *h* of which is merely orthographical) is altered into the scribe's-gibberish *Rythmarch*, whence springs the ridiculous *Rhyddmarch* of your modern Welsh antiquary; of course the Old-Welsh *Ricemarch* would now be written and pronounced *Rhygyfarch*.

Non-Welsh place-names occasionally fare badly: thus *Efsam* (p. 352-3) is translated 'Esham,' and *Conach* (p. 184-5) 'Conach'; but one expects Rolls Editors, though born neither in England nor in Ireland, to have heard of the town and Battle of *Evesham*, and the province of *Connaught*. Then what place is meant by 'Brygge,'

[6] It was perhaps called 'The Middle Country' owing to its partially intermediate position between Powys and the *original* Gwynedd, the eastern boundary of which we believe to have been the Conwy, now the eastern limit of the Diocese of Bangor.

which translates *Bruch* at p. 155? We presume Bridgenorth, anciently called *Brycg;* but it was the business of the Editor to look into this point and enlighten us. And were not Rolls Editors in A.D. 1860 supposed to know Latin? (One would have thought, at least, that such an accomplishment would have been an indispensable qualification for the editing of a Latin text like *Annales Cambriæ.*) In the Latin verses twice printed at pp. 246-9 (both in the Welsh text and in the English translation) we find the following colossal blunders: *foma* for *fama*, *ingeniitum* for *in gemitum* (or *gemitu?*), *inimitus* for *inimicus*, *ipsuis* for *ipsius*, *glistit* for *gliscit*, *testus* for *testis*, and *nestia* for *nescia.* Now if these mistakes really occur in the original MS., Hengwrt 51, they should have been corrected, either in critical notes (allowed even by the Rolls system), or at least in the copy given in the English translation, where on the contrary every one of the barbarisms finds itself slavishly repeated. On p. 245 mention is made in the English translation of "the histories of *Ystas* the historian" and "the odes of *Feryll* the bard." But who except learned Welshmen (few enough, in all conscience!) know that *Fferyll* in mediæval Welsh meant 'Virgil' (for in the modern tongue the name has been degraded till it means nought but 'a chemist'!)? and how many would guess that by *Ystas* is meant 'Tacitus' (for we presume it can hardly mean *Statius*)?

There is a grotesque mistranslation (due, we fear, to the translator's insufficient acquaintance with *English* idiom) in at least two places, viz., at p. 283, where Robert de Bruse is said to have been honourably received by the "*good men* of Brycheiniog," but the Welsh original has *gwyrda Brecheinawc;* and at p. 227, where *aerva ar wyrda Gwent* is translated 'a slaughter of the *good people* of Gwent.' We presume that the perpetrator of these absurdities would have translated *optimates* 'excellent people'! Of course *gwyrda* (in older Welsh *deon*, older *degion*, plural of *da*, older **dag*), meant the same as *optimates*, and what is referred to is the treacherous massacre of the Gwentian *nobles* spoken of by Giraldus, *Itin. Camb.*, i. 4. See note to the Rolls edition of his works, vi. 49. We may add that the Index to the Rolls *Brut* is most inadequate, and omits many place-names occurring both in the Welsh text and in the English translation.

THE CROFTER SYSTEM OF THE WESTERN ISLES OF SCOTLAND AND THE CALLERNISH STONES OF LEWIS.

By Alfred Neobard Palmer.[1]

I. The Crofter System of the Western Isles of Scotland.

I have to begin by making an apology. The title of the Paper I am about to read was announced in the syllabus of the session as "The Western Isles of Scotland regarded from a Welsh standpoint," and I had intended to deal therein with several distinct facts which I had noticed during two successive journeys to the West of Scotland. But when I came to reflect on the first rough account of those facts which I wrote, I found there were several points whereon I had touched concerning which further investigation was desirable; while for an adequate description of other objects I had noted (vitrified forts, rude stone monuments, and the like), the verification of some of my memoranda was absolutely necessary. I therefore felt compelled to restrict myself to giving an account of "The Crofter System of the Western Isles of Scotland," as I observed that system during a visit in the summer of 1889.

Whether there be any truth in the supposition that there is a sort of correspondence between the crofter townships of the Western Isles and the *pentrefi* of Wales,

[1] Read before the Society on Wednesday, April 29, 1891.

and in the further supposition that these *pentrefi* represent the hamlets of the *taeogion* or serfs of the old Welsh social system, a description of these crofter-townships, still existing, which have been least affected by modern changes, will, I think, be interesting to the student of ancient Celtic social systems, especially as in my account of these townships and of various other facts connected with the crofter system I only describe what I saw with my own eyes, or what I was told on the spot, and have not been influenced by what others have written on the subject.

The huts of the crofters of Lewis are arranged in rows at about equal distances apart, forming what is called "a crofter-township," or collection of towns (pronounced "toons"), or houses. The huts stand along a road or way, and often on the other side of the road is another row of similar huts. Each hut is placed in a small enclosure which contains the other buildings, if any, belonging to the crofter, his stacks of peat, of oats, and so forth. From this enclosure, and having an equal width with it, stretches the croft, which is a long strip of land, wherein the crofter grows his oats, barley, and potatoes; for these are the chief, if not the only, crops grown. Often a part of the croft, having the same width as the other part, is on the other side of the road. Near at hand is the turf moor, over which the crofters, as well as all the parishioners, have rights of turbary. And, finally, there is the summer-pasture or hill-pasture, of which more will be said hereafter. The whole settlement, or collection of huts and crofts, is generally surrounded by a rude stone wall.

Having given the foregoing general notice, by way of introduction, I will now descend to particulars.

And I will begin with the crofter's *hut*. Most of the inhabitants of Lewis with whom I conversed told me that this hut had no special name, but was simply called *Tigh*

('house'), but one person said it had, in fact, a specific name—*Tigh Dubh* ('Black House'), and as this name is not likely to have been invented, the houses not being *externally* black at all, it seemed to me worthy of being recorded, though I have the authority of one man only for it. I saw a crofter's hut being built. Two parallel trenches for each wall were dug in the ground, leaving a core of earth between them. In these trenches big stones were laid, without mortar, for a foundation. The two parallel walls were then continued upwards, the spaces between the big stones used being filled up with smaller stones, leaving a hollow space between, which was filled with soil until a height of five, or at most six, feet had been attained, and the walls of the building, with their inner core of earth, had been completed. These walls are often three feet thick at the surface of the ground, but become somewhat thinner as they get higher. Whether the inner core of earth is continued to the top of the wall, I do not certainly know, but I suppose it is. The roof timbers are then placed all round, with their lower ends resting on the inner edge of the walls, while their upper ends are lashed to the ridge-pole. As the latter is shorter than the length of the building, and the roof-timbers are placed all round the walls of the latter, at its ends as well as at its sides, there are no gables, the ends of the roof being made to incline at the same angle as the sides. The roof-timbers having been fixed, rude cross-pieces are placed upon them, and the whole roof is, not thatched, but simply covered, with a thin layer of straw, which is removed once a year, and used as manure. This covering of straw is held together on the roof by knotted ropes, the ends of which are weighted with stones. As the roof-timbers start from the *inner edge* of the walls, the greater part of the top of the latter is exposed. On this flat top sods are placed and

a kind of shelf formed, on which the chickens feed, and whereon the horse, standing on the ground below, essays to graze. No poles support the roof inside the house, so far as I know.

In some cases the crofter's dwelling-house is distinct from the byre: in other cases the dwelling-house and the byre form a single building. When the dwelling-house and the byre are under one roof, there are sometimes separate entrances for the cattle and the inmates of the house, and sometimes there is but one entrance. The building with only one door for the cattle and the family we may regard as the older type of crofter's hut. As representing this older type also we may mention those huts which have no chimneys, and in which the peat-reek finds its way through a hole left for this purpose in the roof, through various accidental crevices, and through the open door. When there is no chimney, the hearth is sometimes, though not generally, made in the middle of the floor, away from the walls. This again we may suppose to be a more ancient arrangement than that according to which the fire is built up against one of the end walls. The dwelling-house is generally divided into two apartments, called in English "the but" and "the ben," that is, the outer and the inner room.

I have now to speak of *the croft* which pertains to the crofter's hut, and is inseparable from it. This is often called by the English word *Lot* (pronounced "Lote"), but oftener by the Gaelic word *Cruit*,[2] which I fancy to be merely a variation of the English *croft*. I was told the true Gaelic name for the croft, a name seldom used, but I could not venture to reproduce it, as few of the Gaels with

[2] Also spelt *croit*, whence *croitear* 'a crofter,' we are informed by a Gaelic scholar to whom we are indebted for other information given in the footnotes to this article.—Ed.

whom I conversed could spell or write the language which they spoke.

The crofts, putting on one side the question of their subdivision, are of equal area in the same township, but vary a great deal in different townships. Nor is there any constant relationship between the length and breadth of the crofts. The latter are divided one from another by low banks or by ditches. The crops are grown on what are called "lazy-beds" (as in Ireland, and, I believe, in Northumberland), "lazy-beds" being narrow butts upon which the soil from the hollow reans which separate the butts is annually heaped. As this soil receives the drainage from the "lazy-beds," it is regarded as a form of manure. There is, as a rule, no rotation of crops in the crofts, and the soil is forced by the application of compost. The crofts vary in area in different townships from two acres, or under, to about six acres.

The women do nearly all the agricultural work, and if they do not dig the turf (as to which I can say nothing, most of the men at the time of my visit to Lewis being away at the fisheries on the eastern coast), they certainly carry it from the moor to their houses. The women tramping in single file, bending patiently under their loads, form indeed one of the characteristic sights of Lewis. They work, in fact, in every way inordinately hard. When they have nothing else to do, they knit stockings, or other articles of dress, which they sell at Stornoway, where there is a fair demand for them. When working, they wear short skirts, and dispense altogether with boots, and generally with stockings also, though they sometimes wear stockings *that have no feet.*[3] I did not see a single shop in any of

[3] Called in Welsh *bacsau*. In Llanbrynmair and thereabouts blue bells (*Scilla nutans*) are called *bacse'r góg*.—Ed.

the crofter villages, though I read of one in a crofter township which I did not visit. Speaking generally, whether the women want to buy or sell, they must go to Stornoway, and when they do this, they don their best garments, and very comely they then look. A short blue skirt, a coloured bed-gown or bodice, and a cap of pure white—such is their attire, while their legs and feet, if not bare, as is generally the case, are encased in home-made stockings and yellow shoes. When their creels are empty, they knit as they walk along the roads. Until the time of the late Sir James Matheson, who built mills in different parts of the island, the women ground their own corn by hand.

The hill or *summer pastures* remain now to be dealt with. About the end of May or beginning of June the women drive the cattle and sheep to the hills, taking their creels, and often their churns also, with them. Here, I was told, they remain, on and off, for about six weeks. Here the sheep are shorn. Here the women make butter, and take it down to Stornoway to sell, or, if the summer pastures are not too far from their homes, take down the milk thither two or three times in a week, and make butter there. While at the hill pastures they live in a hut called in Gaelic an *airidh*, and in English a "summer shieling." It corresponds, of course, to the *hafod* of Wales, which was the hut used when the Welsh herdsman formerly in summer drove his cattle to the hills. This custom exists also in Switzerland, the Scandinavian peninsula, and elsewhere. I crossed some of the hill pastures in Lewis, and visited a summer shieling, where I was hospitably received. The walls of the shieling are wholly built of turf; a rude framework of wood covered with turf rests upon these walls, and forms the roof. The doorway of the shieling is so low that one has to crouch in order to enter it.

I learned that, according to the theory of the proprietor

of Lewis, no crofter should keep on the hill pastures more than one cow and six sheep for every pound sterling of rent paid, but that the crofters now persistently disregard this regulation, and keep thereon what stock they please.

There is also, I was informed, "a wintering," or winter pasturage, a sort of links, or grassy sand-hills, the Gaelic name of which I cannot give. In some townships this pasturage is open only to one cow for every croft; and if a crofter grazes thereon more than one cow he has to pay 2*s*. 6*d*. a head for the extra beasts he puts on the pasture into a general fund, which is afterwards divided among those who have rights over the winter pasturage. This arrangement has been made by the crofters themselves, and leads to endless dissensions among them.

When a large district is cultivated or dealt with in the manner I have described, it presents a curious spectacle to one who has been accustomed to the sight of a country in which no such conditions exist. The long lines of strange-looking huts; the many and variegated strips of cultivated land; the black turf-moor, with its stacks of turves; the bare, treeless hills—together make up a picture which, though interesting rather than beautiful, can never be forgotten by one who has noted its main points.

The foregoing observations relate to Lewis. In connection with the crofter townships in the neighbourhood of Portree (in the Isle of Skye), several of which I visited, two points were noticed. *First*, the rows of huts were often down by the sea-shore, the crofts then stretching upwards from them to the main road, and being divided from each other by broad paths leading down to the huts. *Secondly*, the huts were in many cases not arranged in rows at all, but scattered promiscuously about; and the crofts also varied a great deal in area and shape, and were pieces of land which the crofters or their wives had industriously cleared

of stones, leaving, however, often great masses of rock projecting from the ground, presenting thus a state of things very similar to that which I have understood exists in Ireland—especially in Kerry. I should add that there were crofts which were unequal in area, while the huts to which they pertained were arranged all together in a row, representing thus a class of holdings intermediate between the two classes first named.

I saw from the steamer several crofter townships along the sea-coast of the mainland in Ross-shire. Here a state of things was noticed similar to that which exists in Skye. But I observed that in two or three instances, when the houses were arranged in a row with crofts of equal size and shape, these latter were separated from one another by lanes flanked by stone walls.

I am not ignorant of the part played by the Norsemen in Western Scotland, and especially in the Isles; but I imagine them to have been merely a military aristocracy, ultimately absorbed or assimilated by the mass of the population, and that the crofter townships in particular represent the habitations of the Gaelic-speaking people whom the Norsemen found in possession, whom they left practically undisturbed, and whose customs they on the whole respected.

II. The Callernish Stones of Lewis.

I should have preferred, for the reasons given in the first paragraph of this paper, to have said nothing of *The Callernish Stones* in Lewis until I should have been able to make a second visit to them. But as the probabilities of such a visit seem very remote, I will give here the best account I can of this wonderful collection of *meini hirion*. The Callernish Stones are situated immediately adjoining the crofter township of Callernish, in the parish of Uig, about

two miles from the well-known inn called "*Garra na hine*,"[4] and sixteen miles from the town of Stornoway. They do not appear to have been described, except very imperfectly, in any book that is easily accessible. Fergusson's *Rude Stone Monuments*—a very unsatisfactory book, by the way—contains merely a passing allusion to them.[5]

If you inquire of such people in the island as are supposed to be learned in local antiquities, you will be informed that the stones, as a whole, are Druidical, and that on the top of the cromlech, beneath the cairn within the circle, human sacrifices were once offered. Indeed the drain was pointed out to me which was provided for carrying off the blood of the victims! The Gaelic name of the stones was stated to be a perpetual witness of their former purpose. This name was *Torsachen*, or rather *Tuirsachen*, which is said to mean "Houses of Mourning."[6] But a crofter told me that this is really the name, not of the stones, but of a hill a little to the south of them.

The truth is, that apart from the cruciform character of

[4] Supposed to stand for *Gearradh na h-aimhne*, 'the cutting of the river,' i.e., the ravine through which the river has forced its way, from *gearradh* 'cutting or to cut,' and *aimhne*, gen. sing. of *amhainn* (Welsh *afon*). There is also a Gaelic word *garradh* 'a dyke or rude wall.'—Ed.

[5] Misled by the incompleteness of the index to Mr. Fergusson's book, I had quite forgotten, until the above sentence was in type, that there was in that book not only the "passing allusion" on p. 52, but also an actual description, at pp. 259–60, of the Callernish Stones, illustrated by a small-scale plan of them taken from Sir Henry James' work. But the description in question is very much wanting in detail.—A.N.P.

[6] The Gaelic *tuirseach* means 'sad, mournful;' its plural would be *tuirseachan*. *Na tuirseachan* would mean 'the mourners,' i.e., the relatives and friends who mourn for a deceased person, and would therefore seem to be a name originally applied to the stones. 'Houses of mourning' would be *tighean bróin*.—Ed.

the group and the question as to its builders, there is nothing unusual about the Callernish Stones to those who have seen and studied similar monuments. We have here a cairn, covering a two-chambered cromlech, with the entrance (the "drain" before mentioned) pointing as usual to the east, and a tall *maen hir*, or monolith, which we may for distinction call "the stylus," at the western edge of the cairn, all enclosed within a circle of tall monoliths, from which circle radiate to the four points of the compass four rows of standing stones, of which one row (that to the north) is double, and forms a broad avenue, and the other rows are single.

There are, however, certain peculiar points of interest about the Callernish Stones which it is important to notice.

First of all, the cromlech within the circle was covered with stones, a fact which would have gladdened the heart of the late Rev. E. L. Barnwell, who always stoutly contended that cromlechs were never intended to be exposed —an opinion with which I am disposed to agree. I talked with a crofter who witnessed the removal of the stones composing the cairn with which this particular cromlech was covered. A great part of the cairn, indeed, still remains.

It is interesting to remark how the tall *maen hir*, the stylus, the tallest of the group, occupies *approximately* the centre of the stone circle, and forms a kind of western headstone to the cairn which stands between it and the eastern edge of the circle.

The *cromlech* also is peculiar in many ways. The larger chamber within the cairn has at each corner a low upright stone, these four stones supporting the capstone (now displaced), and forming the cromlech. But these four stones stand at the corners merely, and are, besides, so narrow as

to leave the sides of the cromlech quite open. *The whole has, therefore, been built in,* enclosed so as to form a chamber, constructed of flat stones regularly laid with an even face inwards, which chamber is oblong, opening westwards into a smaller chamber (which I forgot to measure), and eastwards into the passage which, when open, led from the outer air into the cromlech. The whole has, in plan, *roughly* the appearance of the following sketch.

I measured the chamber, but being ill at the time and unspeakably exhausted, found on my return home the dimensions given in my pocket-book hopelessly confused. I therefore give only those measurements of which I am certain. The western chamber is very small and built in the same manner as the eastern, except that it encloses no standing stones as supports for the capstone.

The circle is composed of thirteen monoliths, from nine to ten feet high. They are at widely different intervals apart. Nor is the circle accurately circular. The internal diameter, east and west, is 34 feet 7 inches, and the internal diameter, north and south, 39 feet 2 inches; the external diameter, east and west, 37 feet 3 inches, so that the *calculated* external diameter, north and south, would be 41 feet 10 inches. I must explain that the diameter, east and west, was measured from the edge of a stone on the west side of the circle along the southern edge of the stylus, to the edge of a stone on the east side of the circle, all three stones being in line, not merely with each other, but very nearly with the eastern

and western limits of the cross also; while the diameter, north and south, was measured from a stone on the north side of the circle, along the eastern side of the stylus to an *imaginary point* in a wide gap on the south side of the circle, where, it was supposed, a stone would have stood, if a stone had ever been there placed to complete the circle. This diameter pointed in a direct line to the southernmost stone of the southern arm, and the distance between this stone and the imaginary point just mentioned (giving the length of the southern arm) was measured, but this measurement I afterwards most unfortunately lost. It can, however, as will presently be seen, be approximately recovered.

At the point at which the two diameters of the circle crossed each other, I made a mark in the turf. From this point (nearly the true centre, and somewhat south of the stylus) to the southernmost stone of the south arm of the cross is 105 feet 10 inches. From this same point to the middle of a line connecting the two northernmost stones of the northern double arm, or avenue, is 296 feet 8 inches. The total length, across the circle of the longer limb of the cross, is therefore 402 feet 6 inches. Subtracting from 105 feet 10 inches half the diameter north and south of the circle (20 feet 11 inches), we get 84 feet 11 inches as approximately the length of the southern arm (measuring from the outside of the circle), and 275 feet 9 inches as, in like manner, the length of the northern arm, or avenue. The northernmost stones of the latter abut upon a crofter's garden, and I am by no means sure that this avenue was not, aforetime, longer than it now is.

There is a *maen hir* outside the circle ranging with the first stone westward of the western arm of the cross, which looks like the beginning of a second circle outside the first—an important observation, if we hold, as

I am inclined to do, that groups of this kind were formed gradually.

The eastern and western arms of the cross consist each of four monoliths, and the measurements relating to them are as follow :—

	ft.	in.
Length of western arm to inner edge of circle	43	8
,, across circle (internal diameter east and west)	34	7
,, of eastern arm to inner edge of circle	48	4
,, of transverse limb of cross	126	7

As to the *avenue,* or northern arm, which consists of two parallel rows of standing stones, there are in the western row ten, and in the eastern row nine stones, the interval between two stones being in no single case the same.

I have unaccountably left unrecorded the number of stones in the southern arm, but, according to my recollection, there were six in a direct line, and a small one apart from the rest, which might be the first of a second row designed to form, with the row already existing, an avenue similar to that which forms the northern arm. It should be said, however, that the six stones of this arm (if six there be) do not run truly north and south, but trend gradually westward, so as to mar in some measure the cruciform appearance of the group. The stones of this arm are five or six feet high.

Indeed, the members of the group are disposed very much at haphazard, and the stones as a whole are so irregularly arranged, there being neither a true circle nor a true cross, that it is impossible to believe that any definite measures of length are involved in it. Nor am I convinced by the quasi-cruciform arrangement of the Callernish Stones that they were set up in Christian times, or have any Christian significance.

As the measurements above given were made with a cord, which was liable to stretch, and as I lacked assistance, some of the longer lengths may be somewhat out of the true, but the shorter measurements may be absolutely trusted.

Until the time of the late Sir James Matheson, the Callernish Stones were so hidden with the turf-moss which had grown up around them that some of them were wholly covered, and of others only the tops appeared. Sir James had the moss cleared away to what seemed to be the original level of the ground. But the marks of the moss level, before this unearthing was effected, are still evident on the stones. I found in the case of one of the stones that the moss had grown up about it to the height of 51 inches.

On returning from the Callernish Stones to the Garra na hine Inn, I noticed on a slight elevation, a little to the right of the road, a double circle of monoliths, there being four in the inner circle, and ten (of which two were prostrate) in the outer circle.

ALFRED NEOBARD PALMER.

HENRY VAUGHAN OF SCETHROG, 1622-1695:

SOME NOTES ON HIS LIFE AND CHARACTERISTICS AS A POET OF WELSH DESCENT.[1]

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When I was honoured with the request to deliver an address before this Society, my first thought naturally was of my small individual qualifications to speak upon those peculiarly national subjects which are the proper field for study and criticism on the part of the body which has so long and honourably claimed to represent Welsh literature. The strong interest which, both on general and personal grounds, I feel in your beautiful country, in its rich and flexible language, in its many centuries of poetry, uniting the age of Taliesin to the age of Tennyson, is, unhappily for me, supported by a very poor and superficial knowledge of that literature, equally attractive and perplexing; which also, in the present day, if not possessing as many native scholars or readers as it deserves, yet can boast of names, amongst others, so justly honoured as Canon Silvan Evans, or Professor Rhys and Mr. Gwenogvryn Evans of Oxford; to whom I may add Mr. Lewis Morris, whose widely diffused poetry so worthily carries on the tradition of that work

[1] This paper was read before the *Cymmrodorion* Society on Wednesday, May 27, 1891, and again at Oxford on May 29, in presence of some members of Vaughan's old college, *Coleg yr Iesu.*

which, in the last century, rendered his ancestors of the House of Penbryn the central source of light and guidance to the highest culture of the Principality.

Men of this class, perhaps, do not leave much room for the tentative efforts of the *Saeson*, whose place is rather to listen and to learn; and I must request from such, and indeed from all my hearers, some forbearance whilst I attempt a brief criticism upon Vaughan, as the most remarkable among several poets who, though of Welsh descent, and, as I shall endeavour to show, gifted with characteristically Welsh genius, wrote in English during the seventeenth century. A short outline of his life I shall presently offer. The other two to whom I have alluded are John Donne, Dean of St. Paul's (1573-1631), and George Herbert (1593-1633). Donne's family was Welsh; he used the same crest as Sir Edward Dwnn, whose father, Sir John, was executed after the battle of Danesmore (or Edgecott Field) in 1469.[2] When, however, the poet's immediate branch of the Dwnn's settled in England seems to be unknown. His father was a London merchant; his mother of English descent.—George Herbert was born in Montgomery Castle, of the noble Pembroke family; whilst his mother, Magdalen Newport, was descended in the female line from Bleddyn ap Cynfyn, Prince of Powys, and Gwenllian, daughter to Gruffudd ap Cynan, Prince of Gwynedd.

Donne's religious poetry, striking as it is, yet forms much the smallest portion of his whole work. But it is surely very remarkable, although indeed quite insufficiently recog-

[2] The list of the Welsh and other notables slain "apud Heggecote feld prope Banbery," given by William of Worcester in his *Itinerary*, pp. 121–2, includes "Henr. Don de Kedwelly, fuit in Francia, filius Ewen Don," and "Henricus Don de Pyrton." The first of these two was (*ib.*, p. 118) one of the three sons of Sir Gryffith Don, and married a daughter of Sir Roger Vaughan. Cf. note 4 on p. 194, *infra*.—Ed.

nized, whether in Wales or in England, that Herbert and Vaughan, unquestionably the greatest, the most impressive religious poets of that age (putting aside Milton, who has a unique place in our literature), should thus both be, so far as we know, of pure Welsh descent. Without accepting those crude and extravagant views upon the influence of descent—upon heredity—which are current in certain scientific sections at the moment, we have certainly good reason to expect that some qualities characteristic of their race will be found in these three writers. What may we select as these Celtic qualities? Here I obviously enter upon doubtful or debateable ground, and must beg a lenient judgment from my hearers. National characteristics are always difficult to define, even to those familiar with any race and its literature. How much more so when such familiarity is wanting!

Perhaps, however, it may be allowed me here to assume as a fair groundwork for discussion certain definitions of the Cymric genius set forth by that gifted poet and critic, the late Matthew Arnold. In his lectures on the study of Celtic literature (nor in these only) we doubtless find errors, fanciful thoughts, and rash theoretical conclusions on matters beyond his grasp. Yet I think it was with the true insight of one who was before all things a poet that he fixed upon *sentiment* as the best single term to mark the Celtic nature. "An organization quick to feel impressions, and feeling them very strongly; a lively personality, therefore keenly sensitive to joy and to sorrow."[3] Comparing the Celt with the Greek of old, that same invaluable sensibility, "the power of quick and strong perception and emotion, which is one of the very prime constituents of genius, perhaps its most positive constituent," we find belonged also to the Greeks; but with them it was accom-

[3] "On the Study of Celtic Literature," p. 100 (1867).

panied by the strongest, the most pervading, sense of form and measure in poetry and the other fine arts. Hence beyond any other race of men the Greeks succeeded in great constructive works of poetry; whilst the Celtic genius it will, I think, be allowed has shone rather in briefer lyrical utterances. But this latter point I would not press; the very different historical careers of Greece and of Wales, unnoticed by Arnold, have to be taken everywhere into account if such a comparison of the results in art reached by the two nations is to be made. Here it will be enough for me to point out that by this great element of poetical success, this predominant emotion, Donne, Herbert, and Vaughan are all distinguished. Their writing has a passion, a full tide of sentiment, which contrasts most curiously with the general tone of purely English literature during the seventeenth century. Intellect, reasoned rendering of human nature, rather than emotion, is indeed the quality which throughout English poetry, from and before Chaucer onward, is apt to hold the place we have assigned to sentiment in Celtic; whence a predominant fault in English writers is a too frequent readiness to become simply didactic, to sacrifice poetical art to practical purpose. In the seventeenth century this intellectual English bias, it is well known, was cultivated to excess; even Milton is not free from it; and from reasons into which I cannot now enter it took the form of subtle ingenuity in words, and in thoughts even more than in words; what are called conceits or fancies became so engrossing as to have practically ruined the work of many men of true genius; Cowley perhaps being the most distinguished example. Now the poetry of Donne and of Herbert is itself thoroughly pervaded by these forced, over-ingenious turns of thought and language. I have not time here to offer examples from these writers; what I wish to emphasize is that their fancies, unlike the

mere intellectual conceits of their English contemporaries, are throughout inspired by depth of sentiment. Hence it is that Herbert's little book, overwrought with quirk and fancy as it is, has remained amongst the most popular in the language—a fate how rarely reached by any book more than a century old! And this vital quality, this strength of humanity and human feeling, this voice of the heart, I think we are justified in claiming without hesitation as the strong working of the Welsh blood within them. Despite their language, they are amongst the glories of Cymric poetry.

But I must now turn to the poet in whom not only sensibility but other equally remarkable national qualities are conspicuous.

Sir Roger Vaughan, of that great and ancient family which claimed descent from Caradoc Freichfras—the ancestor of our Henry,—who served in the Welsh forces under Lord Pembroke, and was slain in the fight of Danesmore [4] in 1469, settled at Tretower in the county of Brecon.[5] Thence the poet's grandfather moved to Scethrog,[6] near the Usk; where, eighth in descent from Sir Roger, Henry and his twin brother Thomas were born in the house of Lower Newton in 1621 or 1622. Both were educated by the

[4] Danesmore or Danesmoor (also locally known as *Dunsmore*) is a small plain in the parish of Edgcott, co. Northampton, S. of the village of Edgcott, and four or five miles N.E. of Banbury (see Baker's *Northamptonshire*, i. 500–1). Lewis Glyn Cothi (see his *Works*, pp. 16–19) wrote an elegy on Thomas ap Rhosser (or Roger), Lord of Hergest (brother of the above Sir R. Vaughan), who took part in this battle, where he was taken prisoner, and beheaded at Banbury. Sir Roger Vaughan's name is not in the list mentioned in note 2 on p. 191 above, which see.—Ed.

[5] In the parish of Llanfihangel (or St. Michael's) Cwm Du, of which St. John's, Tretower (in Welsh, *Tretwr*) was a chapelry.—Ed.

[6] Scethrog and Newton are both in the parish of Llansantffraid. An unfounded guess of comparatively modern antiquaries connects

Rev. Matthew Herbert, of the Pembroke family, at Llangattoc juxta Crickhowel,[7] who, says H. Vaughan, was more than a father to him. In 1638 the brothers entered Jesus College, Oxford; a set of English verses in honour of Charles I., printed in 1641, is all that is known of the poet's University career. About this time Henry seems to have been more or less in London. He speaks of the men of letters with whom he was in company at the famous Globe Tavern; and, like other seventeenth century poets, his warmest praise is for Fletcher the dramatist, whilst Shakespeare is not named. In his town life Vaughan seems to have fallen into some excesses, of which he soon bitterly repented. In 1645 he may have been present, though not actually under arms, at the defeat of Royalist cavalry on Rowton Heath near Chester. He took the degree of Doctor of Medicine, though when and where is unknown, and then began practice in Brecon town, retiring to his native village Scethrog in 1647. And as a doctor he there seems to have spent the rest of his life, marrying and leaving children: from one of whom his learned editor, Doctor Grosart, plausibly deduces Doctor Vaughan, the present Dean of Llandaff. He died, aged 73, in 1695, and is buried, close by his house, in Llansantffraid churchyard; where his Latin epitaph, obviously written by

Scethrog with Brochwel *Ysgythrog*, Prince of Powys in the sixth century. The victims of a further hallucination have seen the tomb of this prince in the inscribed stone at Llandyfaelog Fach, not far off, the name on which is not, however, *Brocmail*, but *Briamail Flou* (i.e., Briafael *Flavus*, as Professor Rhys points out to us). For these legends see Westwood's *Lapidarium Walliæ*, 58-9; Lewis' *Topographical Dictionary of Wales*, under "Llandevailog-vâch," "Llansantfraid" (No. 1); Jones' *Breconshire*, ii. 174, 537.—Ed.

[7] Which benefice he held 1621-1661. "He was also rector of Cefnllys, in Radnorshire, and prebendary of Llanelwedd [close to Builth] in Christ's College, in Brecon" (Jones' *Breconshire*, ii. 494). —Ed.

himself, asks the mercy of God upon an unprofitable servant and a sinner.[8]

It is very singular that although Vaughan, as a country doctor, must have spoken far more Welsh than English, yet only one four-lined scrap of Welsh poetry, written by him, has come down to us. This is an *Englyn* on the Lord's Prayer, prefixed to a book by Dr. Thomas Powell of Cantref, published 1657.[9] The *Englyn* is a four-line stanza, of a very elaborate structure, condensed and somewhat epigrammatic in character. Professor Rhys, to whom I referred Vaughan's attempt, points out that it slightly differs from the fashion of the present day, and is chiefly remarkable as a proof that the poet, although preferring to write in the language of the majority, was yet master of his mother-tongue. As such, I may be here allowed to quote it :—

Y Pader, pan trier, Duw-tri a'i dododd
O'i dadol ddaioni
Yn faen-gwaddan i bob gweddi,
Ac athrawiaeth a wnaeth i ni.

"The Lord's Prayer, when looked into, (we see) the Trinity of His fatherly goodness has given it as a foundation-stone of all prayer, and has made it for our instruction in doctrine."[1]

Vaughan's best, and best known poetry is religious ; but we have also some interesting and often charming verse

[8] "Henricus Vaughan Siluris, M.D., obiit Ap. 23, Anno Salutis 1695, Ætat. suæ 73. Quod in sepulchrum voluit: Servus inutilis, Peccator maximus, hic jaceo. ✠ Gloria, miserere." (Jones' *Brecon-shire*, ii. 536, where '78' is a misprint for '73').—Ed.

[9] "*Quadriga Salutis*, or the Four General Heads of Christian Religion surveyed and explained." For some account of this Dr. Powell and his works, see Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses* (ed. Bliss, 1817), iii. 507–8.—Ed.

[1] See the note at the end of this article.

upon various subjects by him. This section of his work, because it is little known and because it illustrates his life, I will first notice. In 1646, when he was aged about 24, appeared his first poems. Like all Vaughan's volumes it is excessively scarce; whence we infer that throughout life he was one of those poets, such as his contemporary, Andrew Marvell, or Keats in our own day, who, for some reason, failed to receive due recognition. In this little book, however, Vaughan is only trying his wings; he follows, on the whole, the courtly conventional poetry of the day, yet shows also that genuine feeling which underlies all his life and verse. Love, of course, is the main theme, and Amoret his mistress. I quote a lover's message addressed to her:

Nimble sigh, on thy warm wings
  Take this message and depart;
Tell Amoret, that smiles, and sings,
At what thy airy voyage brings,
  That thou cam'st lately from my heart.

Tell my lovely foe, that I
Have no more such spies to send,
  But one or two that I intend
Some few minutes ere I die,
To her white bosom to commend.

Then whisper by that holy spring[2]
  Where for her sake I would have died,
While those water-nymphs did bring
  Flowers to cure what she had tried;
And of my faith and love did sing,

That if my Amoret, if she
  In after-times would have it read,
How her beauty murder'd me—
With all my heart I will agree,
  If she'll but love me, being dead.

This is doubtless the artificial style of that age; it reminds one of Carew and Herrick; yet its truth of sentiment is, I

[2] Fountain or well.

think, unmistakeable. An extract from another song "To Amoret, gone from home," may be also given:

Fancy and I last evening walk'd,
And, Amoret, of thee we talk'd;
The West just then had stol'n the sun,
And his last blushes had begun:
We sate, and mark'd how everything
Did mourn his absence: how the spring
That smiled, and curl'd about his beams,
Whilst he was here, now check'd her streams:
The wanton eddies of her face
Were taught less noise, and smoother grace;
And in a slow, sad channel went,
Whisp'ring the banks their discontent;
The careless ranks of flowers that spread
Their perfumed bosoms to his head,
And with an open, free embrace,
Did entertain his beaming face;
Like absent friends point to the West,
And on that weak reflection feast.
—If creatures then that have no sense
But the loose tie of influence,
Though Fate and Time each day remove
Those things that element[3] their love—
At such vast distance can agree,
Why, Amoret, why should not we?

In this piece we find the manner of Carew, one of the most popular and graceful amourist poets of the time. But here also Vaughan first shows his love of the landscape, and his strong sense of natural law, in his references to the influence or sympathy which moves the stream and the flowers. This mode of regarding Nature is the old imaginative way, from which modern physical science with its insistence upon tangible fact diverts the mind. A *Rhapsodie,* in which he sings a meeting with friends at the Globe, and draws a picture of London by night, with a translation of Juvenal's famous tenth satire, concludes the book.

[3] Apparently for *aliment.*

In 1651 Henry Vaughan, or perhaps his brother Thomas, without the "Author's approbation," published a little Miscellany, as the phrase was, under the title *Olor Iscanus* —the Swan of Usk. The contents, including some Latin verse, are varied, and their chief interest is perhaps biographical. The preface, *Ad Posteros*, To Posterity, recites a short sketch of his life, his birthplace, his training under Matthew Herbert, and the grief he felt at the miseries and distractions of the Civil Wars, lamenting his country as an afflicted mother might her lost children. The first English poem is a beautiful address to the Usk, that fair stream which, as some here doubtless will know, glides quietly by the town of Brecon, and seems to run through all Vaughan's poetry with an undercurrent of peace and music. Usk was to him what "the murmuring Esk"—the names are, of course, identical[4]—was to Drummond of Hawthornden. Vaughan in this piece has caught something of the spirit of Milton's lovely song at the close of *Comus*, the one addressed

[4] *Wysg*, the Welsh name of the river (Latinized *Osca* and Anglicized *Usk*) corresponds exactly with the Irish *iasc* 'a fish,' the representative (with the regular Celtic loss of Aryan *p*) of the Latin *piscis*, from which the Welsh *pysg* 'fish' is, of course, merely borrowed. Thus *Afon Wysg* might well mean 'Amnis piscosus.' The Welsh *wy* regularly represents an Old-Celtic *ē* or *ī*; hence *Esk* might well have been an archaic form of *Wysg*, as *Isca*, the name given by the Romans both to the *Usk* and to the *Exe* in Devonshire (the latter of which is called by Asser—see *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, p. 479—*Wisc*), undoubtedly is. Curiously enough we find in N.E. Yorkshire both an *Esk* and a *Wiske*, the former joining the German Ocean at Whitby, the latter (inland, to the E.) flowing into the Swale past Northallerton. If *Esk* is (as *Exe* undoubtedly is) the same word as *Wysg*, the presumption is that the Anglian, Pictish, or Goidelic invaders of the once Brythonic districts where *Esks* occur (Cumberland, N.E. Yorkshire, Edinburgh-, Dumfries-, Forfar-, and Kincardine-shires) found on their arrival and stereotyped the Old-Celtic form, just as the Mercians did in the case of the river Teme (see p. 173, note 4, *supra*).—Ed.

to Sabrina, who personifies that greater Welsh river, the Severn :—

Garlands, and songs, and roundelays,
Mild, dewy nights, and sun-shine days,
The turtle's voice, joy without fear,
Dwell on thy bosom all the year!
May the evet[5] and the toad
Within thy banks have no abode,
Nor the wily, winding snake
Her voyage through thy waters make.
In all thy journey to the main
No nitrous clay, nor brimstone-vein
Mix with thy streams, but may they pass
Fresh as the air, and clear as glass;
And where the wandering crystal treads,
Roses shall kiss, and couple heads.
The factour[6]-wind from far shall bring
The odours of the scatter'd Spring,
And loaden with the rich arrear,
Spend it in spicy whispers there.

This, with all its quaintness, is a beautiful lyric; but the general quality of the book differs much from the love ditties addressed in 1646 to Amoret. We have here satires, weighty and epigrammatic; and a curious invitation, full of humour and quaint thoughts, to a misanthropic friend to join him at Brecknock. Vaughan speculates why his friend lives in monastic retirement; whether it was love;—

Or is't thy piety? for who can tell
But thou may'st prove devout, and love a cell,
And—like a badger—with attentive looks
In the dark hole sit rooting up of books.

Vaughan calls him forth to reasonable enjoyment, despite the public miseries of the day:

Come then! and while the slow icicle hangs
At the stiff thatch, and Winter's frosty pangs
Benumb the year, blithe—as of old—let us,
'Midst noise and war, of peace and mirth discuss.

---

[5] The newt or eft. [6] Merchant.

This portion thou wert born for: why should we
Vex at the time's ridiculous misery?
An age that thus hath fool'd itself, and will—
Spite of thy teeth and mine—persist so still.

Of greater power is an elegy on the death of a friend killed at Rowton Heath in 1645. This shows much force of feeling, and in consequence a certain bold energy of style, which Vaughan had at command, but which his choice of subject rarely called for. Of his friend he says:

He weaved not self-ends, and the public good,
Into one piece, nor with the people's blood
Fill'd his own veins; in all the doubtful way,
Conscience and honour ruled him. O that day,
When, like the fathers in the fire and cloud,
I miss'd thy face! I might in ev'ry crowd
See arms like thine, and men advance, but none
So near to lightning moved, nor so fell on.

Other miscellaneous pieces follow, one of which I may perhaps be allowed to notice as containing what possibly is a Welsh idiom; and if so, the only one that I have fancied I could detect in all Vaughan's poetry. In this lyric Vaughan speaks of the flower Rose as masculine, against the common use of the feminine gender: English writers following the Latin *rosa*, he (as I suppose) the Welsh *rhosyn*.[7] But this point I submit to your better judgment.

Last remains for notice by far the most beautiful poem in the book: an elegy upon that unhappy child, the Princess Elizabeth, second daughter to Charles I., who was practically murdered at the age of 14, by the cruelty of the Puritan-Independent party, then in its brief supremacy,

[7] *Rhos-yn* is a mere loan-word, with the Welsh masculine singulative-suffix. The true Welsh word for 'roses' was *breilw*. In the Cornish vocabulary of Cott., Vespasian, A. xiv., *breilu* glosses *rosa*. —Ed.

at Carisbrook Castle, in the Isle of Wight, in 1650. Elizabeth's happy and promising childhood was soon overclouded; she was born in 1635, and by 1642 already began to feel the political miseries of the time. Her mother was driven from England; she was imprisoned by Parliament. Then came her confinement under various conditions of severity; the final farewell to her father in 1649, and her careless removal, despite of constantly failing health, to the gloom and solitude of Carisbrook. I now quote our poet's elegy:

Thou hadst, ere thou the light couldst see,
Sorrows laid up, and stored for thee;
Thou suck'dst-in woes, and the breasts lent
Their milk to thee, but to lament;
Thy portion here was grief, thy years
Distill'd no other rain but tears,
Tears without noise, but—understood—
As loud and shrill as any blood;
Thou seemst a rose-bud born in snow,
A flower of purpose sprung to bow
To heedless tempests, and the rage
Of an incenséd, stormy age.
Others, ere their afflictions grow,
Are timed and season'd for the blow,
But thine, as rheums the tenderest part,
Fell on a young and harmless heart.
And yet, as balm-trees gently spend
Their tears for those, that do them rend,
So mild and pious thou wert seen,
Though full of sufferings; free from spleen,
Thou didst not murmur, nor revile,
And drank'st thy wormwood with a smile.

There are some fantastic phrases in this piece, after the fashion of the age. Yet what a tenderness is here, what truth in the child's picture! What a deep, deep sympathy for the young sufferer! In all the poetry which, during the middle of the seventeenth century, touches upon the deaths and calamities of the time, I know none which rivals this elegy in depth of pathos, in reality of sentiment.

In 1678 Vaughan, or some friend who cannot be identified, brought out his last little book of poetry. The British Museum possesses this in the single copy known: a fate which it is striking to observe has befallen not a few English books published during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, whilst others have wholly disappeared. This collection is named *Thalia Rediviva*—('The lyric Muse returned to life,' we might render it) or "The Pass-times and Diversions of a Countrey Muse," as it is also entitled. *Thalia*, like the previous volume, contains miscellaneous pieces and translations, beside some religious verse, and it represents mainly, as I conjecture, Vaughan's later work. Here we find a very remarkable poem addressed to the eagle; a bird then doubtless oftener seen in Wales than in these days of improved cultivation, railroads, and rifles. This piece is in Vaughan's most rapt, imaginative, ecstatic style—Smart's Song to David, Blake's lines upon the Tiger, Wordsworth's on the Cuckoo, are the nearest to it in strange visionary power that I can remember. But Smart and Blake were not wholly sane: Vaughan's first lines show that he knew his attempt to be a kind of fit of poetical madness, such as Plato defined poetry. But we may doubtless see in it the peculiar, fervent penetrative, mystic imagination, which Wales may justly claim as the gift of her own children.

He that an eagle's powers would rehearse
Should with his plumes first feather all his verse.
    I know not, when into thee I would pry,
Which to admire, thy wing first, or thine eye;
Or whether Nature at thy birth design'd
More of her fire for thee, or of her wind.
When thou in the clear heights and upmost air
Dost face the sun and his dispersèd hair,
Ev'n from that distance thou the Sea dost spy,
And sporting in its deep, wide lap, the fry.
Not the least minnow there, but thou canst see:
Whole seas are narrow spectacles to thee.

This is an example of what I have already noticed, how the fantastic far-fetched imagery, the conceits which Vaughan shared with his contemporaries, are vivified when lighted up (to take Shakespeare's phrase) by his "fine frenzy." Other writers in this style are apt, as indeed we have seen often renewed since in our literature, to sacrifice poetry to ingenuity: but Vaughan's splendid exaggerations shine, as we may say, by the warm light of the imagination, not the white glitter of the intellect. Following the eagle in his flight, he now paints the royal bird as displeased and scornful at the moon's want of brilliancy. The sun, according to old belief, is what he naturally gazes at: hence

> Resolved he is a nobler course to try,
> And measures out his voyage with his eye.
> Then with such fury he begins his flight,
> As if his wings contended with his sight.
> Leaving the moon, whose humble light doth trade
> With spots, and deals most in the dark and shade:
> To the Day's royal planet he doth pass
> With daring eyes, and makes the sun his glass.
> Here doth he plume and dress himself, the beams
> Rushing upon him, like so many streams;
> While with direct looks he doth entertain[8]
> The thronging flames, and shoots them back again.
> And thus from star to star he doth repair,
> And wantons in that pure and peaceful air.

And then Vaughan closes with that lesson of Nature to Man, that echo, so to speak, of human life presented in things not human, which, as we shall see, is constantly enforced in his sacred poetry:

> Nature made thee to express
> Our soul's bold heights in a material dress.

But the most interesting poems in *Thalia* are a few love-lyrics, finer in art and in feeling than those in the little book of 1646.

[8] Receive.

I quote a few lines from the picture of Fida, with her

> Blushes which lightning-like come on,
> Yet stay not to be gazed upon,
> But leave the lilies of her skin
> As fair as ever, and run in:

a true-hearted "countrey beauty," describing how she dressed her head:

> Her hair laid out in curious sets
> And twists, doth show like silken nets,
> Where—since he play'd at hit or miss:—
> The god of Love her pris'ner is,
> And, fluttering with his skittish wings,
> Puts all her locks in curls and rings.

What an exquisite lightness of touch is there in these lines! It seems to me exactly analogous to the magical skill with which the great painter Correggio touches-in the golden hair to which he is so partial. Often as the poets, in their gay flattery, have dwelt on the bright tresses of some beauty, and compared them to a net to catch the heart of man, or even Cupid himself,—I know none who have rendered the idea with more charming felicity.

The place of Amoret, his first love, in this book is taken by Etesia. Of her we know nothing: but the peculiar sincerity of tone in which she is addressed, the depth of loving reverence, may convince us that Etesia was a true woman, whom we may perhaps reasonably conjecture or hope was the one he wedded.

> Etesia, at thine own expence,
> Give me the robes of innocence

is the lover's invocation before painting her character:

> Thou art the dark world's morning-star,
> Seen only, and seen but from far;
> Where like astronomers we gaze
> Upon the glories of thy face,
> But no acquaintance more can have,

Though all our lives we watch and crave.
Thou art a world thyself alone,
Yea, three great worlds refined to one.
Which shows all those, and in thine eyes
The shining East and Paradise.

. . . . . .

O thou art such, that I could be
A lover to idolatry!
I could, and should from heaven stray,
But that thy life shows mine the way,
And leave a while the Deity
To serve His image here in thee.

In this and the lyrics "To Etesia, Parted From Him" and "Etesia Absent" Vaughan, I think, is seen at his best in this style. If he has not the finish, the airy touch of Herrick or Carew, he has a deeper sentiment, a more imaginative quality: fancies, doubtless, but heart-fancies: he reminds one, in these respects, of the best lyrics of the Elizabethan age.

O subtle Love! thy peace is war;
It wounds and kills without a scar:
It works unknown to every sense,
Like to decrees of Providence,
And with strange silence shoots us through;
The fire of Love doth fall like snow.
Hath she no quiver, but my heart?
Must all her arrows hit that part?
Beauties, like heav'n, their gifts should deal
Not to destroy us, but to heal.
Strange art of Love! that can make sound,
And yet exasperates the wound:
That look she lent to ease my heart,
Hath pierced it, and improved the smart.

Now, on Etesia Absent:

Love, the world's life! what a sad death
Thy absence is! to lose our breath
At once and die, is but to live
Enlarged, without the scant reprieve

Of pulse and air: whose dull returns
And narrow circles the soul mourns.
But to be dead alive, and still
To wish, but never have our will;
To be possess'd, and yet to miss,
To wed a true but absent bliss;
Are ling'ring tortures, and their smart
Dissects and racks and grinds the heart!
As soul and body in that state
Which unto us seems separate,
Cannot be said to live, until
Reunion; which days fulfil
And slow-paced seasons: so in vain
Through hours and minutes—Time's long train—
I look for thee, and from thy sight,
As from my soul, for life and light.
For till thine eyes shine so on me,
Mine are fast-closed and will not see.

It was, however, his religious poetry into which Vaughan threw his full force, and by which he is, or I should rather say deserves to be, best known. The first part of his collection, named *Silex Scintillans*, 'the spark-giving flint,' was published in 1650; republished, with a second part, in 1655; and a few scattered serious poems are contained in his latest book, the *Thalia* of 1678. Vaughan, you will remember, seems to have lived more or less in London after his Oxford career, mixing with the literary men of the day at the famous Globe Tavern. That period was the beginning of troubles in England; and he may probably have been casting about to find what profession would best suit him. He looked upon the gradual ruin of Charles I. and of the Constitution as represented by him, with an intensity of feeling such as that which Wordsworth in his youth felt for England, "as a lover or a child"; and to the despair hence arising I think we may partly ascribe Vaughan's irregularities of conduct, noticed before, whatever they may have been. Anyhow, some time before 1647 he

appears to have been attacked by violent illness, and from that period we may date what he might have truly named his conversion. The preface to the second edition of his *Silex* (1654) expresses his sense of shame at the wanton verse too frequent in that age, and his repentance for what he had himself written thus in early youth; though indeed not a syllable of the kind occurs in the youthful volume of 1646. The first writer who opposed that tide, he says, "was the blessed man, Mr. George Herbert, whose holy life and verse gained many pious converts, of whom I am the least."

It is as a poet—as a true and essentially Welsh poet—that I am here concerned with Vaughan. Upon his religious views it will hence be enough to say that they were obviously much influenced by those of Herbert in his own time, and of the theologians of the earlier Church; and that his faith was held with a very deep conviction, and with the reward of humble-minded happiness in this life, and sure hope for the future. That he also profited much as a writer by Herbert's poetry is certain. Here, however, a commonly diffused error has to be noticed. The devotion which Vaughan expressed to the admirable recluse of Bemerton, who died in 1633, whilst he was a young boy, has led many to suppose that Vaughan's spiritual indebtedness to Herbert carried with it also the result that he was in poetical style the follower and disciple of the elder writer. Here and there indeed we can see that Herbert's verse directly influenced Vaughan's. The men are also alike in pursuing what I have spoken of as the fanciful style of that age; and alike in the deep sentiment, the voice of the heart (passing often into a peculiar meditative melancholy), which I claim for their blood-inheritance as Welshmen, and which inspires and redeems to life their strangest and most artificial conceits. Here however as

artists they part; beyond this lies the obvious fact that Vaughan was decidedly more richly gifted with true imagination—always the essential and governing gift of the poet—than Herbert. And with this deeper insight and faculty follows his inheritance in that other noble quality which Matthew Arnold finds especially in the Celtic race, and which he defines as a peculiarly quick perception of the charm of Nature, of the more delicate beauty, the inner meaning of the wild free landscape, especially in its relations to man and the human soul,—the correspondence and harmony of the visible world with the invisible. And that sentiment was accompanied by a power of its own to render this charm, this beauty of Nature, in a wonderfully near, vivid, and as we might call it, magical way.

It is indeed safe to affirm, that of all our poets until we reach Wordsworth, including here Chaucer, Spenser, and Milton, Vaughan affords decidedly the most varied and the most delicate pictures from Nature; that he looked upon the landscape, as I hope to show, both in its fine details and in its larger, and, as they might be called, its cosmic aspects, with an insight, an imaginative penetration, not rivalled till we reach our own century;—that he, lastly, has carried out the idea of a certain deep correspondence between the outer world and the human soul with a subtle skill;—which, perhaps, often betrays him into a certain obscurity, whence in some degree the little study his work has received may be derived.

That this singular and delightful gift, which sometimes indeed runs into fantastic extravagance, pervades and colours the poetry and the romantic narratives of Wales, I may safely assume you know. Even in Lady Charlotte Guest's translation of the *Mabinogion*, so skilfully has she managed it, the peculiar refined and deep sense of Nature is thoroughly perceptible. To give examples of it from

Vaughan will be the main task which now remains to me.

Here, however, I must notice it is not in distinctly Celtic literature alone that we find this peculiar quality. Whether through the mixture of Celtic and Saxon blood in our race, as Arnold conjecturally argues, or from some other unknown cause, a similar imaginative treatment of landscape may be traced here and there in English poetry, notably in that of Shakespeare, to our own century. It is of Wordsworth that we naturally think as the writer who has perhaps most fully and frequently possessed the gift before us; we think of it indeed as in some sense a distinctly modern tone of mind. And Wordsworth has a largeness and completeness in his landscape, together with an exquisite refinement, all his own. But Vaughan, though his special aim, that of rendering religious thought and sentiment, of course much restricted him as a painter of Nature, yet has a similar depth and poignancy of imagination. His sympathy with tree and flower is more affectionate, more human than Wordsworth's; the emotion dominant in Welsh poetry shows itself, as I shall try presently to exemplify, in a singular power of personifying natural objects. With him also the sense of God's omnipresence in his works is even more constant, more simply religious and direct than in Wordsworth. Vaughan expresses somewhere the longing wish that man "would hear The World read to him," as his lesson for life. Like Wordsworth, he wrote always with earnest conviction and purpose, confessing this, and the difficulty of it, in some singularly candid lines, with which all true poets must have often unconsciously sympathized:—

> O! 'tis an easy thing
> To write and sing;
> But to write true, unfeignéd verse,
> Is very hard!

Let this slight sketch serve as a general preface upon Vaughan's special gifts,—those gifts in which he most clearly reveals his nationality; by virtue of which, as you I hope will agree, Wales is entitled to claim his poetry, written in English as it is, for her own. Depth and delicacy of feeling, the heart speaking and spoken to more than the head, intimate insight into Nature, felicitous touches of description, the eye always upon the object,—these are the leading notes. And with these Vaughan has the "defects of his qualities"; obscurity and abruptness of phrase, thought often too concentrated for clearness and melody in words; some defect in form and unity of design—much in short which, in its own way, we must confess to be true of our lately-lost Robert Browning,—both requiring close sympathetic attention from their readers, and both rewarding it.

Vaughan's excellencies, as I have said, are common also to the ancient Greek poets; but—as indeed is true of far too much modern work,—he lacks their measure, their reserve, their lucidity, their power of keeping the whole always in view while elaborating the parts,—their architectonic power, as it is sometimes termed.

The very first piece in the *Silex* supplies a set of little pictures of Nature, which Vaughan works into his religious theme, the prayer for liberation from the power of evil, for a renewed heart, for "Regeneration."

A ward, and still in bonds, one day
  I stole abroad;
It was high-Spring, and *all the way*
  Primrosed, and hung with shade:
  Yet was it frost within;
    The surly winds
Blasted my infant buds, and sin
  Like clouds eclipsed my mind.

Storm'd thus, I straight perceived my Spring
Mere stage and show;
My walk a monstrous, mountain'd thing,
Rough-cast with rocks, and snow;
And as a pilgrim's eye,
Far from relief,
Measures the melancholy sky,
Then drops, and rains for grief:
So sigh'd I upwards still.

He then finds himself in a "fair fresh field":

Here I reposed; but scarce well set,
A grove descried
Of stately height, whose branches met
And mixt, on every side;
I enter'd, and once in,—
Amazed to see't—
Found all was changed, and a new Spring
Did all my senses greet.

The unthrift[9] sun shot vital gold,
A thousand pieces;
And heaven its azure did unfold
Chequer'd with snowy fleeces;
The air was all in spice,
And every bush
A garland wore: Thus fed my eyes,
But all the Earth lay hush.

Only a little fountain lent
Some use for ears,
And on the dumb shades language spent,
The music of her tears.

What originality and imaginative beauty do the phrases here italicized display!

The phenomena of water, the spring, the lake, the torrent, as it is natural, hold a great part in Vaughan's landscape. One often feels he is describing what must have met his eye during his professional rides—for cart-roads were then probably rare about Scethrog—by hill and valley. Thus

[9] Lavish. See *Merchant of Venice*, v. 1.

how vividly does he paint a hot mist exhaled from a lake and falling back in rain: how skilfully does he turn the simile into a personal application:

'Twas so; I saw thy birth. That drowsy lake[1]
From her faint bosom breathed thee, the disease
Of her sick waters, and infectious ease.
But now at even,
Too gross for heaven,
Thou fall'st in tears, and weep'st for thy mistake.

Ah! it is so with me: oft have I prest
Heaven with a lazy breath; but fruitless this
Pierced not; love only can with quick access
Unlock the way,
When all else stray,
The smoke and exhalations of the breast.

Yet, if as thou dost melt, and with thy train
Of drops make soft the Earth, my eyes could weep
O'er my hard heart, that's bound up and asleep;
Perhaps at last,—
Some such showers past—
My God would give a sunshine after rain.

But the waterfall,—of all natural features the one most characteristic of mountain scenery, the one which above all lends life to the wild landscape, as we might expect,—drew from Vaughan one of his most perfect and most imaginative pictures. I quote a portion:

With what deep murmurs, through Time's silent stealth,
Does thy transparent, cool, and watery wealth,
Here flowing fall,
And chide and call,
As if his[2] liquid, loose retinue[3] staid

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[1] Probably *Llyn Safaddan* (known to English as Langorse Pool), near Scethrog, a *lowland* lake in cultivated country, whence a hot mist might well rise: whereas most of the lake or pond waters in Wales are clear mountain tarns.—Ed.

[2] *His* here may be used for *its*: or misprinted for *thy*.

[3] The water, thought of as following and clothing the fall.

Lingering, and were of this steep place afraid :
The common pass,
As clear as glass,
All must descend,—
Not to an end,
But quicken'd by this deep and rocky grave,
Rise to a longer course more bright and brave.

Dear stream ! dear bank ! where often I
Have sate, and pleased my pensive eye ;
Why, since each drop of thy quick store
Runs thither where it flow'd before,
Should poor souls fear a shade or night,
Who came—sure—from a sea of light ?
Or, since those drops are all sent back
So sure to Thee that none doth lack,
Who should frail flesh doubt any more
That what God takes He'll not restore ?

For it is an allegory of life he sees in the waterfall : broken in its passage through the world, then re-collected in age :

As this loud brook's incessant fall
In streaming rings restagnates all,
Which reach by course the bank, and then
Are no more seen ; just so pass men.

Vaughan, as I have noticed, has a singular vividness in personifying common natural objects. He is ready to imagine flower or bird, stone or stream, as beings animated by human life, and with whom he can hold dialogue. Or, again, he dwells sometimes upon their superiority to man. Thus he says :

Weighing the steadfastness and state
Of some mean things which here below reside,
Where birds, like watchful clocks, the noiseless date
And intercourse of times divide,
Where bees at night get home and hive, and flowers,
Early as well as late,
Rise with the sun, and set in the same bowers ;

I would—said I—my God would give
The staidness of these things to man! for these
To His divine appointments ever cleave,
And no new business breaks their peace;
The birds nor sow nor reap, yet sup and dine;
The flowers without clothes live,
Yet Solomon was never dress'd so fine.

Man hath still either toys[1] or care;
He hath no root, nor to one place is tied;
But ever restless and irregular
About this Earth doth run and ride.
He knows he hath a home, but scarce knows where;
He says it is so far,
That he hath quite forgot how to go there.

In the next piece Vaughan represents himself as searching in winter for a favourite buried flower—an image to him of a retired holy life.

I walk'd the other day—to spend my hour—
Into a field,
Where I sometimes had seen the soil to yield
A gallant flower;
But Winter now had ruffled all the bower
And curious store
I knew there heretofore.

Yet I, whose search loved now to peep and peer
I'th' face of things,
Thought with myself, there might be other springs
Besides this here,
Which, like cold friends, sees us but once a year;
And so the flower
Might have some other bower.

Then taking up what I could nearest spy,
I digg'd about
That place where I had seen him to grow out;
And by and by
I saw the warm recluse alone to lie,
Where, fresh and green,
He lived of us unseen.

[1] Trifles.

Many a question intricate and rare
Did I there strow;
But all I could extort was, that he now
Did there repair
Such losses as befel him in this air,
And would ere long
Come forth most fair and young.

This past, I threw the clothes quite o'er his head;
And stung with fear
Of my own frailty, dropp'd down many a tear
Upon his bed;
Then sighing whisper'd, 'Happy are the dead!
What peace doth now
Rock him asleep below!'

Now it is the life of the bird into which he throws himself:—

Hither thou com'st: the busy wind all night
Blew through thy lodging, where thy own warm wing
Thy pillow was. Many a sullen storm
—For which coarse man seems much the fitter born—
Rain'd on thy bed
And harmless head.

And now, as fresh and cheerful as the light,
Thy little heart in early hymns doth sing
Unto that Providence, Whose unseen arm
Curb'd them, and clothed thee well and warm.
All things that be praise Him; and had
Their lesson taught them when first made.

I pass reluctantly a most original elegy upon a fallen timber-tree:

Sure thou didst flourish once! and many springs,
Many bright mornings, much dew, many showers
Past o'er thy head; many light hearts and wings,
Which now are dead, lodged in thy living bowers.

And of his noble address to the rainbow only the opening can be given:

Still young and fine! but what is still in view
We slight as old and soil'd, though fresh and new.
How bright wert thou, when Shem's admiring eye
Thy burnish'd, flaming arch did first descry!
When Terah, Nahor, Haran, Abram, Lot,
The youthful world's gray fathers in one knot,
Did with intentive looks watch every hour
For thy new light, and trembled at each shower!

But, if it weary you not, I will quote, perhaps, the most singular and original example of Vaughan's magical power of giving life to lifeless things. It is his description of *The Book,* the Bible. He has a lovely lyric upon this, as his guide and teacher. But first it is the book itself—the paper, the boards, as was common in old days, of actual wood, the leather covering—which he must describe

Eternal God! Maker of all
That have lived here since the man's fall!
The Rock of Ages! in whose shade
They live unseen, when here they fade;

Thou knew'st this paper when it was
Mere seed, and after that but grass;
Before 'twas drest or spun, and when
Made linen, who did wear it then;
What were their lives, their thoughts and deeds,
Whether good corn, or fruitless weeds.
Thou knew'st this tree, when a green shade
Cover'd it, since, a cover made,
And where it flourish'd, grew, and spread,
As if it never should be dead.

Thou knew'st this harmless beast, when he
Did live and feed by Thy decree
On each green thing; then slept—well fed—
Clothed with this skin, which now lies spread
A covering o'er this aged book,
Which makes me wisely weep, and look
On my own dust. . .

On the curious intensity of feeling here shown I need hardly comment: the speculation as to the lives of those

who wore the linen afterwards converted into paper; on the sort of pitying affection for the sheep whose skin supplied the outer cover of the book.

It is upon Vaughan's special gifts in the way of impassioned imagination and felicitous power shown in natural description which I have, perhaps, at too great length been dwelling, as they are, perhaps, his most peculiarly national qualities in poetry, and also those which are least exhibited amongst his English contemporaries.

I have claimed for Vaughan that he is by far our most noteworthy poet of Nature in the centuries before Wordsworth. But his own age was, in truth, the time when, for more than fifty years, the charm and freshness of the natural landscape was almost banished from our literature; and it will be but fair to Vaughan to offer a few examples of that wide sweep of imagination, that sense of beauty, as a whole, which were at his command, not less than the more detailed pictures which I have presented. He thus sings of *Retirement*:

> Fresh fields and woods! the Earth's fair face!
> God's footstool, and man's dwelling-place!
> I ask not why the first believer[5]
> Did love to be a country liver?
> Who, to secure pious content,
> Did pitch by groves and wells his tent;
> Where he might view his boundless sky,
> And all those glorious lights on high:
> With flying meteors, mists, and showers,
> Subjected[6] hills, trees, meads, and flowers:
> And ev'ry minute bless the King,
> And wise Creator of each thing.

We then have the revival of all things at dawning:—

> Hark! how the winds have changed their note!
> And with warm whispers call thee out;

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[5] Abraham. [6] Low-lying.

The frosts are past, the storms are gone,
And backward life at last comes on.
The lofty groves in express joys
Reply unto the turtle's voice;
And here in dust and dirt, O here
The lilies of His love appear!

I next quote a noble panorama of Creation, in which we hear what Vaughan elsewhere calls "the great chime and symphony of Nature."

To heighten thy devotions, and keep low
All mutinous thoughts, what business e'er thou hast,
Observe God in His works; here fountains flow,
Birds sing, beasts feed, fish leap, and th' Earth stands fast;
Above are restless motions, running lights,
Vast circling azure, giddy clouds, days, nights.

When seasons change, then lay before thine eyes
His wondrous method; mark the various scenes
In heav'n; hail, thunder, rainbows, snow, and ice,
Calms, tempests, light, and darkness, by His means;
Thou canst not miss His praise; each tree, herb, flower
Are shadows of His wisdom, and His power.

Now a picture of the new-created earth:

Such was the bright world, on the first seventh day,
Before man brought forth sin, and sin decay,
When like a virgin clad in flowers and green,
The pure Earth sat; and the fair woods had seen
No frost, but flourish'd in that youthful vest
With which their great Creator had them drest:
When heaven above them shined like molten glass;
While all the planets did unclouded pass;
And springs, like dissolved pearls, their streams did pour,
Ne'er marr'd with floods, nor anger'd with a shower.

What touches of Nature, close to fact, or idealized by the poet's ever-vivid imagination, are here!

Last I give, compressed within seven lines, a vision of Eternity, so imaginative and so powerful that I hardly know where, in literature, to look for its equal:

I saw Eternity the other night,
Like a great ring of pure and endless light,
All calm, as it was bright;
And round beneath it, Time, in hours, days, years,
Driven by the spheres
Like a vast shadow moved; in which the world
And all her train were hurl'd.

My object in this analysis has been limited to points which have been little handled, I believe, hitherto, and which, I hope, may have some value for our Society. Many notable things I pass over with regret; the poet's sympathy with childhood, in which he anticipated, and perhaps suggested, the thoughts rendered by Wordsworth in his famous "Ode on Intimations of Immortality"; I pass over his powerful protests against the crimes and sufferings endured by his country from the despotism of Cromwell; his fine paraphrases from Scripture; his personal experiences of the religious life. Vaughan has also an exquisite pathos, a rare depth of tenderness, in a few poems recording the loss of near friends or relations. With one of these, comparatively well known, as a brilliant example of Vaughan's style at its best, let me now conclude:

They are all gone into the world of light!
And I alone sit lingering here;
Their very memory is fair and bright,
And my sad thoughts doth clear.

It glows and glitters in my cloudy breast,
Like stars upon some gloomy grove,
Or those faint beams in which this hill is drest,
After the sun's remove.

I see them walking in an air of glory,
Whose light doth trample[7] on my days:
My days, which are at best but dull and hoary,
Mere glimmering and decays.

---

[7] Wholly surpass.

O holy Hope! and high Humility,
  High as the heavens above!
These are your walks, and you have show'd them me,
  To kindle my cold love.

Dear, beauteous Death! the jewel of the just,
  Shining nowhere, but in the dark;
What mysteries do lie beyond thy dust,
  Could man outlook that mark!

He that hath found some fledged bird's nest, may know
  At first sight, if the bird be flown;
But what fair well or grove he sings in now,
  That is to him unknown.

And yet, as angels in some brighter dreams
  Call to the soul, when man doth sleep:
So some strange thoughts transcend our wonted themes,
  And into glory peep.

If, as I hope, what I have now attempted may lead some present to wish to study Vaughan on their own account, it may be added that there is but one complete edition of his works, edited by Dr. A. B. Grosart in 1871, for the "Fuller Worthies' Library"; the last two volumes being prose work, mostly translations. But the two parts of the *Silex Scintillans*, by far Vaughan's most important work, were first reprinted by Mr. Lyte, himself a poet and author of the well-known hymn *Abide with me*, in 1847, and, I believe, lately re-issued with a corrected text, by Messrs. Bell.

NOTE on p., 196 *supra*.

On the fly-leaves forming pp. 121–2 of the MS. of Welsh poetry written by Iago ab Dewi, and printed in *Y Cymmrodor*, vols. viii.-x., occur two later additions. The first one (written early in the 18th century) is a short poem, apparently in the hand of the Rev. Samuel Williams, of Llangynllo, in Cardiganshire, father of the better-known Moses Williams. It is annotated in one or two different hands.[8]

[8] The following is the poem alluded to. We suspect the second of the two notes to it (comprising the words from *made* to *Britanne*)

(On a printed page, bound into the MS. volume, and facing p. 1 of Iago ab Dewi's text, there is also an Englyn, copied in the Rev. S. Williams' hand, and a note thereto, which is certainly in the hand of Richard Morris.[9] The Rev. S. Williams' hand also occurs on p. 115 of the MS., as stated in *Y Cymmrodor*, x. 233).

Following the first poem on p. 121, and written in an eighteenth-century hand, distinct from all other hands to be found in the MS. volume, is the following collection of *Englynion*, written (except that each *Englyn* on p. 121, after the first, is preceded by a short line, to mark it off from its predecessor, and that the concluding *Englyn* begins a new page) as though it was one and the same composition. The concluding *Englyn* has written below it, in a very bad and quite different hand, "Dauid (or *Daniel*?) Davies," but whether this name is that of the supposed author of the *Englynion*, or that of one of the owners of the MS., we cannot say.

The important point is that *the concluding Englyn of the Series*

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to be in the hand of Moses Williams. It is worth noting that *Caccimwcci* (and not the literary form *Cacamwcci*) is the name now used for the burdock (*Arctium Lappa*) in the parish of Cemmes in the Vale of Dovey:

Pob Cymro glan cynnes y garo 'r Frenhines
Ai Heglwys dda'i hachles heddychlon
Whwnnwch eich Gerddi oddiwrth y mieri
Bydd anodd i dofi pan dyfon.
'Roedd genni ardd a llyssieu hardd
Yn llon y by yn llenwi bardd
Ag yndi wrŷch o Lili gwŷch
Daeth *Cacci mwcci lond bob rhŷch
Ag arnoch rwi'n dymyno am gael i dadwreiddo
Rhag ofan iddyn bryfio a'r Lili wiwo lawr.

*Cyngaf mawr

made in the Reign of Anne Q. of Great Britanne.

The Englyn is as follows:

Naid hynod erfod erfai naid iawn wiw
Naid Einion ab Gwalchmai
Naid i Huw fab Huw heb fai
Ar hyder yr ehedai.

And Richard Morris' note to it as follows: "this was found writ by Iaco ap Dewi upon a void leaf at ye ending of this Book, torn out."

is the one elsewhere ascribed to Henry Vaughan. Here follow the *Englynion*, copied exactly as they are in the MS.:

Duw Tad trwy gariad Duw Tri gwiriondeb
Duw gwrando fyngweddi
Un arch irwy 'n i erchi
Duw madde y meie i mi

Madde y meie i mi Dyw Jessu
Dywssog goleini
Na âd i bechod fy nodi[1]
heb dy ràs a'th dyrnas di

Dy ràs a 'th dyrnas wrth raid y Gaffwi[2]
Duw coffa bob enaid
Ynot i rhoi fy mddirail
Dyw dy nawdd yn y dydd raid[3]

Arch whech yn fynech ag erfyna ràs
tra 'r oes ei hafotta
di gey 'r[3] nêf i hendrefa[4]
cred ddoyddeg cadw r dêg da
[p. 122.]
y Pader pan dreier Dyw tri ai dododd
oi Dododd[5] oi dadawl ddaioni
yn faen gwaddan[6] i bob gweddi
ai roi a wnaeth er athro i ni

—Ed.

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[1] In the MS. there is a comma or apostrophe at some height above the *n* of this word, which does not seem to be meant for a comma after the word *goleini* of the preceding line.

[2] ? *Gaffw i*, MS. (in two words).

[3] The *r*'s of these words resemble *n*'s.

[4] In the MS. it is more like *hendre fa* (in two words).

[5] *Sic* MS.

[6] In North-Welsh and literary Welsh this is *gwadn*; but the South-Welsh form is *gwaddan*, plural *gwandde*. The latter word is found in the name of a well-known place close to the town of Llandovery on its N. side, called *Maes y Gwandde*. In the Englyn *gwaddan* must be pronounced *gwadd'n, metri gratia*.

With respect to the series of Englynion, it will be noted that the first lines of the second and third Englyn take up the words of the last lines of the first and second Englyn respectively, but that no such *liaison* extends beyond the third Englyn.

THE PROPOSED UNIVERSITY FOR WALES

By Principal T. F. Roberts.[1]

Different aspects of this great question have been ably treated within recent years. For example, Mr. Lewis Morris, in the *Nineteenth Century*, has dealt with the Welsh claim to a University, as based on the success of the Welsh University Colleges in London and in other Universities; an argument of which there have been striking confirmations since Mr. Morris wrote. Again, the necessity for a University to secure "unity of purpose and consolidation of results" in the Welsh educational system was dwelt on by Principal Viriamu Jones, in his Address to the Cymmrodorion Section of the National Eisteddfod of 1887. But during the past two or nearly three years the matter has been left in a state of quiescence, which is due to various causes: (1) To the discouraging reply of Lord Cranbrook to the deputation which waited upon him in 1888; (2) To the Royal Commission on the question of a Teaching University for London, and the action to be taken on the Report of that Commission. (If, it may be argued, the result of this movement should be an amended University of London, why should Wales further move in the matter? Why sacrifice the prestige which now attaches to the success of Welsh students in the London University, presuming the main objections to the London system removed? The discussion of the suggested changes in the University is still proceeding, and seems to be still some

[1] Read before the Society on Wednesday, April 1st, 1891.

distance from the attainment of a satisfactory termination); (3) The passing of the Welsh Intermediate Education Act has concentrated attention on the details of intermediate education; (4) Lastly, we have attained to a clearer perception of some difficulties involved in the practical realization of our object.

Although it cannot be said that the question has evoked general enthusiasm on the part of the people at large, who are unable (and, perhaps, rightly unable) to appreciate the distinction between University Colleges and a University, it is none the less one of pre-eminent importance and urgency; and is in fact the chief of those educational problems which Welshmen at this epoch are in duty bound to discuss over and over again, until at last a satisfactory agreement is attained. An educational system, created like ours in the nineteenth century, in the light of the fullest experience, should be pre-eminently the product of a conscious adjustment of means to ends, which can alone be adequately supplied by the creation of a University in time to enable it to mould the ideal which shall inspire the whole. Perhaps the fundamental principles of education in no way more naturally arise than when they are considered from the point of view of the demand for a national University, which confronts us with some questions which have perhaps long been settled in other countries, but which in Wales are in the freshness of their early youth.

I propose in the present paper to submit some considerations, firstly on the method or type, and secondly on the aim of the proposed University. The first question which we have to consider is the matter which has indeed mainly caused the partial suspension of the discussion, viz., the type of University which we would wish to see founded in Wales. Shall it be a University of the London type, under

which a statutory term of residence and the production of evidence of having gone through an academic training are not an indispensable condition of admission to degrees, or a University requiring, like Oxford and Cambridge, the Scottish Universities, and the recently-founded Victoria University, that the candidates for the degree "shall have pursued a regular course of training in a college in the University, and shall submit themselves for examination" (Victoria University Charter)? As I strongly hold the view that the only University which will meet the needs of Wales is a teaching university, perhaps it is best to give my reasons in the way of answers to the chief arguments which have been adduced on the other side. These may be stated as follows:—First, it will be enough that the control of the schemes of examination should be in the hands of a Welsh authority. It will be unnecessary to insist further upon a training in particular institutions, as the system of Welsh examinations will be a sufficient means of influencing the education of the country. Secondly, it is not fair to private students—a class for which Wales has always been distinguished—viz., those who, owing to want of means or the pressure of other avocations, are unable to go through a course of regular training—that their hard work should be unrecognized by a University sanction. Thirdly, it will be unfair to limit the advantages of the University to certain particular colleges like the three Welsh University Colleges. Other colleges, for instance the Denominational and the Normal Colleges, may with advantage prepare for the University Examinations, and some of the first-grade schools may desire to do the same.

In reply to the first objection it may be said that the recognition of the distinctive circumstances of Wales in a mere scheme of examinations takes us but a short way. The argument rests upon a misconception of the place and

function of examinations in education. You cannot control the education of a country by a scheme of examinations; you can only do so by a system of training carried on by teachers who recognize what can and what cannot be done by examinations, which must be made use of in careful subordination to the teaching. The present University of London, in fact, perpetuates a spirit of reaction against the inefficient teaching of a past generation. The recovery and the advance are represented by the founding of the Victoria University. What Wales needs is training and teachers, and not examinations. It cannot be denied that the University of London has conferred important services on Wales, both by providing degrees for men of ability and energy who would have been unable to secure a University training otherwise, and by maintaining a high standard of acquirement in its examinations. Still it would be in my opinion a calamity that the system of the University of London should be definitely adopted for the Welsh University. It is, perhaps, necessary in the interest of private students that there should be one university body which has for its function the recognition of solid acquirement as ascertained by examinations, when it cannot, owing to the circumstances of the case, be regulated and tested by any other means. Much may also be said in favour of an imperial examining body, which shall recognize distinguished merit from whatever quarter it may come. These two functions, however, would seem to be best kept distinct, even if performed by the same body. The examination must necessarily be an imperfect instrument, if it is sought by it alone to test at the same time untrained students and some of the best trained students of the country. A distinction must, perhaps, be drawn here between scientific subjects, in which a practical examination regularly accompanies the paper-work, and examinations in arts, in which, from the nature of the case, the test is

necessarily more inadequate. The University of London has in its B.Sc. course recognized that a practical training in natural science is indispensable, and has thereby promoted scientific instruction and the establishment of laboratories in various parts of the country. But in examinations in arts, as the subjects which are on the whole most agreeable to the genius of the Welsh, and will largely form the basis of the Welsh educational system, examinations separated from or non-subordinated to a system of training may work, and have in Wales worked much evil.

It is possible for us to deceive ourselves; to believe that since we have examination-lists and marks and set subjects, we are therefore gaining education—the culture of the mind, the equipment of aptitude and knowledge which is necessary for the work of life. Speaking as one who believes and recognizes that examinations have an important place in any true system of education, I still venture to say that success in examinations is frequently compatible with the absence of that education for the promotion of which the examinations were established. It is true that intellectual culture does to some extent ensue from intellectual efforts under very adverse conditions, such as payment by results, a mechanical curriculum, and continuous "cramming"; just as in nature the most neglected spots will clothe themselves with forms of grace and beauty by the operation of nature's own law. But such culture is fragmentary, superficial, and fugitive, compared to what it might have been. If, for instance, a portion of a classical author is set as a subject for examination, the student alone, or perhaps the student and teacher together, will proceed to approach it as a subject for examination, as an agglomeration of irregular verbs, of geographical references, of historical allusions, utterly without context to the learner's mind. It is read bit by bit; the

contents of the last day's bit forgotten when to-day's is entered upon. No attempt is made to learn its great passages by heart; there is no time to stop to consider them as literature. If the tutor seeks to do so, he may even be reminded by his pupil that no questions on that head are given in the examination. Perhaps, too, the student is meanwhile in communication with agencies which make it their business to prepare students for the particular examination by correspondence, furnishing the student with answers to the questions set in the previous examination, translations of the classical authors, the parsing of difficult forms, the explanation of every allusion and reference, and, perhaps, with a strange irony, an article pointing out the literary value of the book under consideration. I do not suggest that these developments are to be found in connection with the examinations of London University alone. But shall we in Wales, now that we are for the first time framing our educational methods, admit a system which brings all this in its train? One of the main responsibilities, then, which devolves upon us at this epoch, is to do everything in our power to give to examinations the subordinate though still important place which properly belongs to them. The Welsh University should aim at being what the earliest universities were, an "association of teachers and students for the protection of their joint interests." Through its Faculties or Boards of Studies it will lay down for the students such a course of study as is best adapted for their various requirements; it will see that the course of study so framed shall be duly followed by the students for whom it is intended; that adequate time is given to them to do so; that they have the proper preliminary qualifications for entry. It will satisfy itself of the efficiency of the teaching and of the existence of all necessary aids and appli-

ances. Having so satisfied itself, it will give to the teacher a large freedom, in proportion to the magnitude of his responsibility. The teacher may, at his discretion, make extensive use of examination as a means of testing the effect of his instruction upon the student's mind. In some subjects, probably, he will constantly test the student by question and answer, by written essay, and by examination. The University will require evidence that this course of training has been undergone, and will finally test the training by an examination, arranged by the joint deliberations of the University teachers in a particular Faculty, and conducted by the teachers themselves with such assessors as may be deemed necessary to safeguard the maintenance of an adequately high and uniform standard. But these external assessors should not merely come in on the days of examination, but should also have a seat upon the boards of studies, exercising the same corrective function as they do in the examinations. It may even be desirable, having regard to the distance which separates the three University Colleges, and the difficulty of constant communication, to delegate the examining work pure and simple in the pass examinations of the University to the teachers in the particular colleges. This would be just as if, for example, the Universities of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and St. Andrews were to agree upon a definite course of arts-training such as would be most suitable to the genius of the Scotch, but the examinations in that training were to be left, as at present, to each University. In the more specialized honours courses the examinations would still be in common between the three colleges. By this means we secure: first, the creation of a course of University instruction in accordance with the genius and with the requirements of the Principality; and, secondly, the recognition by degrees, certifi-

cates and otherwise, of those students who have gone through such a course of training. The University teachers who carry out the courses of instruction will also, in their corporate capacity, be responsible for the framing of them, and will be the authorities charged with the consideration of the requirements of the higher education of Wales, and the adjustment of the various departments of knowledge in a complete system.

The University will also have relations to intermediate education. It will have the power (to quote again the Victoria University Charter) "to examine into the efficiency of schools or any academic institutions, and to grant certificates of proficiency to the scholars and members thereof." Let us consider for a moment the probable influence of the University upon the course of instruction in intermediate schools. The problem before us is to create, as far as possible, a liberal education for pupils who pass in great numbers from the primary to the intermediate schools, and from the intermediate schools to the University. The fact that the bulk of the pupils will come up from the elementary schools, combined with the bilingual question, which in a greater or less degree affects the whole country, will make it desirable that English should hold a distinctive position in the curriculum throughout. In the elementary schools (approached in Welsh districts through the medium of Welsh) English will form the main subject of instruction. The development of linguistic faculty in bilingual children will probably make it possible to introduce French into many elementary schools; and in the higher forms to commence the study of Latin. At the age of eleven the pupil will pass from the elementary to the secondary school, and will continue the study of English, Latin, and French, with his other subjects, until at fourteen "bifurcation" takes place. He will then either

commence the study of Greek, or, on the other hand, "if his aptitudes tend to the study of Nature and her works," he will enter upon the special study of branches of natural science. Greek cannot be regarded in Wales, as it has been sometimes regarded elsewhere, as a luxury only to be imparted to those who are to pursue a life of cultured leisure. It is sought by all classes of students, in particular by the ministerial candidates, who form so large a section of our students, and who often are the sons of poor parents.

Speaking generally, the classical training imparted in the Welsh schools at the present time, except in some schools of the older classical type, is peculiarly ineffective, and in need of reorganization if it is to be retained at all. The new training to be given in Wales in the classical languages will be distinguished by the following features. In the first place, it will be confined within narrower limits than in the English Grammar-school system. It will be begun later, and carried on side by side with a greater variety of other subjects. It will therefore of necessity be less specialized and perhaps less scholarly in the limited sense of the term. It is undoubtedly possible to produce, in a shorter time than is now often the case, a more effective command of Greek and Latin, together with some insight into the greatness of antiquity. This may be aimed at by commencing translation earlier, by construing larger selections of literature than is done at present, by the frequent practice of unseen translation, and by resort to the old custom of classical recitation. The proposed training will also be made more real and stimulating by the parallel study of history and literature, by the aid of short lectures, maps, casts and photographs. Such a study will be in the strongest contrast to the study of classical history as at present carried on. At present, owing to the multi-

plicity of other subjects, it is very often left to be got up in a small and cramped text-book within a month of the examination. In the second place, the student, if he intends to proceed to a university degree, will at sixteen or seventeen pass a matriculation or "leaving" examination to qualify him for entrance. The inspection of the intermediate schools will be in the hands of the University Board created for the purpose; and the annual examination of the school will be conducted by the head master and his colleagues, under the supervision of a representative of the University Board. At the present moment there is the greatest need that such a University Board should be called into existence, to prevent the misdirection and the dissipation of effort likely to ensue in the Intermediate schools for the want of it, owing to the diversity of conceptions of the relative place of classical, commercial and technical subjects, and the absence of an ideal of culture at the most critical period. Thirdly, this course of school instruction will be supplemented by the University course, where the student will read more of the classical masterpieces, together with the accompanying periods of history, will complete his course of instruction in English and modern literature, and will commence philosophy. This course of education is clearly possible only if it can be co-ordinated and controlled by a University authority, and is not to be fully realized until the teachers who carry it out have themselves passed through a similar training, and become imbued with the spirit of it. The primary teacher also, it is to be hoped, will be trained in the University, a reform which will secure the advantage noticed by Arnold as distinguishing the foreign administration of popular schools from our own, viz., that "popular instruction is placed in vital correspondence and contact with higher instruction." At the

University the student will hear lectures on points of special interest in connection with his particular faculty: he will not be rigidly confined within a narrow groove, but will be encouraged to develope his bent. Sometimes he may be required (even as part of his final examination, it may be) to write a more careful essay on a particular question of his own choice, subject to the approval of his teacher and with full access to authorities.

I would set it down then as fundamental that the University shall be an association of the three University Colleges for the training of their students. Admit into the examinations any private student or any candidates from external institutions, and the whole conception of the University is disturbed. It is no longer an association of teachers and students; it becomes a mere examining body. The Bishop of London, in his evidence before the London University Commission, remarks: "There is a demand for education growing up in this country within the last fifty years such as I do not think you can parallel in any previous period of history. On the other hand, it is equally plain that there is a total absence of anything like an organized answer to this demand." He then proceeds to argue that a new teaching university of London is necessary to provide this organization for the metropolis. If a teaching university is necessary in London to organize the education there, then much more is a teaching university necessary in Wales for the same purpose.

In reference to the requirements of private students it has been suggested that a special certificate should be given by the University to such students. I would not, even to that extent, endorse the idea of examinations apart from training as a test of merit, unless a system, such as is advocated by Dr. R. D. Roberts and others, can be introduced in Wales. Dr. Roberts says: "We believe it would

be quite possible to arrange a curriculum of study in such a way that a student working in the evening for a period of six or seven years might cover the same ground which a student through the three years at the University can cover, doing the work quite as thoroughly; only it would have to be done in sections instead of all at once." The University of Cambridge at the present time offers to those students who have attended courses of Extension Lectures for six terms, a certificate called the Vice-Chancellor's Certificate.[2]

But it is further urged, that in the interest of other institutions such as the first-grade schools and the Normal and Denominational Colleges, the examinations of the University should be open. First, as to the first-grade schools. It is of the greatest importance to preserve a clear line of differentiation between University and School

[2] Dr. Roberts has since drawn up a memorandum in which he applies this proposal in detail to the circumstances of Wales, maintaining that Extension methods are destined to play a foremost part in the Welsh University system. While cordially agreeing with the principle that a continuous attendance at Extension lectures carried on by University teachers should be in some way recognized by the University, I cannot regard it as an adequate substitute for residence, by which alone the student could avail himself of the central libraries, laboratories, and museums, and come under the indirect influences of University life. The undoubted necessity in Wales of keeping in view the accessibility of the University to working men could be met by providing: (1) That three years' University Extension teaching should exempt from the first, out of, say, three years' residence necessary for the Degree. (2) That in Wales, as in Scotland, the necessary attendance at lectures, &c., could be comprised in six or seven months' residence, so arranged that the students could pursue their avocations in the remainder of the year. (3) By providing Scholarships and Exhibitions for working men tenable at the colleges.

There are other matters which have received considerable attention since this paper was read; but it has been thought better, with this exception, to print it without addition, as it was prepared for the press at the time.

training. Some first-grade schools in Wales may have in their Sixth Form an advanced class of mathematical and classical pupils, who may with advantage prepare even more often than they do at present for scholarships at Oxford or Cambridge; nor would I advocate the fixing of any limit, either of age or otherwise, such as would prevent the first-grade schools from developing in their own way in the direction of specialized study. But I would insist that no candidate should attain a University degree without supplementing the school training with the broader University College training. Even where the material of instruction may be the same, the method, the spirit, and the surroundings are different. The school disciplines habit; the University developes special aptitudes and interests. Secondly, as to the Normal Colleges. The training of Primary Teachers is passing through a peaceful revolution through the action of the Education Department in sanctioning the training of teachers in the University Colleges. These colleges cannot compete with the University Colleges in a general training. In some cases they will, in association with the University Colleges, impart the specific training to qualify the teacher for his diploma, and perhaps in the future they will perform the same function in regard to Secondary Education. Thirdly, as to the Denominational Colleges. In the case of these colleges a revolution from within is now proceeding. Recognizing the change brought about in their vocation by the establishment of University Colleges, they are gradually being converted into Theological Colleges proper, in which the general training will be relegated to the national Colleges. They thus hope to render themselves competent to train in theology those who have already attained their degrees in the University. If, therefore, they were to seek to maintain their arts-teaching on any-

thing like the footing necessary to prepare for a University degree in arts, they would be defeating the very object they have in view. One denominational institution, however, St. David's College, Lampeter, occupies in some important respects a unique position. It has performed since 1852 the functions of a Degree-granting body. Having regard to the limitations under which it has been working, it has performed these functions with distinguished success, and has proved a worthy pioneer of the future University. Great credit is due to St. David's College and to the other Denominational Colleges for the preparatory work which they have performed in educating our countrymen to see the need for a liberal culture, and to recognize that preparation for specific professions presupposes a liberal education. St. David's College, like some similar institutions in England, might have taken a narrow and illiberal view of its educational functions. So far, however, from this being the case, it sought and gained in 1852 a Charter to confer the B.D. degree, and in 1865 (seven years before the opening of Aberystwyth University College) it procured its B.A. Charter on the avowed ground that "it had come to see that an education in theology was no education at all." In 1880 it obtained affiliation to Oxford, and soon after to Cambridge; and in 1884 it established a Preparatory School in connection with the College. The same may be said with some differences of the other Denominational Colleges, according to the measure of their opportunities. For example, the Presbyterian College at Carmarthen can be shown to have exercised a large and beneficial influence upon Intermediate Education in South Wales; and the Calvinistic Methodist College at Bala raised a lofty standard of culture before the youth of the country, and brought it about that many students went to Edinburgh and London,

and (after the opening of the two great Universities to Nonconformists) to Oxford and Cambridge, in far greater numbers (proportionately) than from among English Nonconformists. These facts indicate that, so far from having exercised a narrowing influence over higher education, the admirable movement for the education of the ministry in Wales has been the most potent factor in forming the demand for a liberal education as it now presents itself in the shape of a demand for a Welsh University. It has been objected to this demand that it arises from this very quarter; that the candidates for the University degree would be preponderatingly students for the ministry. Those who make this objection forget that the voice of the clergy and ministers in Wales, ever since the great religious revivals in the last century, has been consistently on the side of mental culture.

If Wales is called upon at this epoch to elect whether she will listen on the one side to the promptings of the various religious movements which have made her what she is to-day, and have given birth (directly or indirectly) to every phase of her educational advance; or, on the other side, to the opposed voices of utilitarianism and a mere one-sided commercial development—if there is to be such a parting of the ways in her history at this epoch—Welshmen who have watched the higher tendencies of their country's history cannot long doubt which voice it behoves them to obey in the very interest of liberalism, of culture, and of science. They also forget the immense importance which (as every man must admit, whatever his religious views may be) attaches to the training of the clergy and ministers of the future.

Even if the demand were made in their interest alone it could not be conceded too readily. But it is by no means so limited. The Welsh University, through its Faculty of

Arts (with which I am mainly concerning myself here; for what other Faculties the University will comprise, at first or ultimately, I do not now seek to determine), will train not only clergy and ministers, but the majority of the schoolmasters, and a large proportion of the lawyers and business men of the Principality. Charles Edwards' well-known words (perhaps the earliest germ of this collegiate or university movement), written so long ago as 1677, will serve exactly to describe the scope of its work: "Byddai yn gymmhorth nid bychan i'n gwlad pe cyfodai ein blaenoriaid *Gollege* neu ddau ynddi i ddwyn gwyr ieuaingc gobeithiol i fyny mewn dysgeidiaeth a moesau da, tuag at eu cymmhwyso gyda bendith y Goruchaf i weinidogaeth Efengylaidd a swyddogaeth wladwriaethol."[3]

St. David's College, possessing as it does the right to confer degrees, already enjoys the privileges I am now claiming for the National Colleges. It already possesses the power of framing its own course of study and of recognizing it by an academical sanction. Its Board of Studies is already free to develope the training imparted in the College in accordance with the objects with which it was founded. Into the question whether the denominational character of the College is or is not a barrier to its recognition as a constituent College in the new University, along with the three University Colleges, we cannot well enter without trenching on matters which are outside the province of this Society. One thing, however, seems clear. The mere right of admission for its students to the examinations of the University St. David's College would

[3] *Hanes y Ffydd.*—'It would be no small help to our country if our leaders would raise therein a College or two to bring promising young men up in learning and good manners, in order to fit them, with the blessing of the Almighty, for the Gospel ministry or for civil office.'

rightly regard as of little value, if our contention is just that the examinations of the University will have significance only in relation to the system of training of which they are but a subordinate part.

The question of the connection of the Theological Colleges with the University is not free from difficulties. It is not impossible that in course of time the various Theological Colleges will unite in a common course of instruction. Writing in reference to a suggested appeal to the Government on behalf of the Nonconformist Theological Colleges of England for power to confer a degree in theology, the Rev. Dr. Fairbairn (*British Weekly*, of Dec. 4, 1890) strongly opposes the proposal, and insists that a degree in arts should be required as a preliminary to a degree in theology. He proposes that the Theological Colleges should be incorporated into the Universities as a special Faculty, on certain conditions, respecting the efficiency and completeness of their theological teaching.

The incorporation of Theological Colleges in the Welsh University is probably a distant matter, but the great want of the present is the *basis* in the form of a general education, leading to the future co-operation between the Welsh Theological Colleges to which I have referred. Whatever may be the future attitude of St. David's College towards general education, I have no hesitation in saying that it will find its chief vocation in adequately developing its theological instruction to meet the changed circumstances of the country. Eminent divines of the Church, coming to work at Lampeter in the future as they have in the past (men like the late Rowland Williams, the present Bishops of Winchester, Peterborough, and Chester, and Professor Ryle), freed from the necessity of having to dissipate their energies over the wide field of combined Arts and Theology, will have an opportunity of exerting

a lasting influence upon Wales in the subjects closest to their hearts, and still closest also to the hearts of our Welsh countrymen.

I have already spoken of the University as an Association or Corporation of Teachers and Students. This description implies a return to the earliest signification of the term. The primitive University of Bologna, for example, was a corporation of law students. Within this conception, however, there is room for diversity as to the aim of a University. Two modern writers on the subject, both profoundly influenced by the University of Oxford, may be taken to represent two main tendencies of speculation on the subject. Mark Pattison maintains that the University has in view "not the interest of science, but the interest of the community in transmitting the traditions of knowledge from the generation which is passing away to the generation which is succeeding it." To him the University is "a central association of men of science." The late Cardinal Newman, on the other hand, rigidly adhering to his conception of a University as "primarily contemplating not science itself, but students," lays down its aim as the cultivation of the intellect—that is, "the fitting it to comprehend and cultivate truth." The eloquent lectures in which this conception is set forth were in their immediate purpose an attempt to show the possibility of realizing for the benefit of the Catholic youth, in their newly-founded Irish University, the humane culture for which Oxford is famous. Similarly we may maintain it to be the aim of our Welsh University, at least on its arts side, to embody an ideal of intellectual cultivation in accordance with the genius of the Welsh. This, and not the opposed conception, whose watchword is utility, which would reduce the University into a mere training school for specific professions, is the idea which should dominate the Welsh Uni-

versity system. It is our boast, sometimes, that we have a nicer discrimination than our neighbours in matters of the spirit, that we have something of the Greek's faith in the realities of the world of thought, of his enthusiasm in the sphere of belief and practice, of his sense of the value of a cultivated imagination. To such a people, then, it is not visionary to describe, as of paramount importance, that course of training which is associated with the faculty of arts,—the studies and exercises which have for generations held their place as the most finished instruments for the cultivation of the intellect and the character. They have not yet had their opportunity of producing their proper effect upon the Welsh people at large. The University will give them that opportunity. We ask for a Welsh University because we hold the conviction that those studies which are the basis of a liberal education—the masterpieces of classical antiquity, language and literature, metaphysics, and the mathematical sciences—may be so adjusted as to eliminate that which is narrow and ineffective, and to strengthen that which is sterling in the Welsh intellect and temperament; and that the great discipline which has been laid down by the consent of mankind as the most effectual instrument for the purpose, may be made still more effectual for us when combined with the influences and aspirations of our own past, and the study of our own literature and of our own language. We ask for a Welsh University, and can accept no reorganized London University as sufficient for our needs, because we know that such an influence as a University can exert must, in order to be effective for us, be exerted from within Wales itself.

From within, a University will rapidly and deeply influence Wales, both directly and indirectly, in a multitude of ways, just as all intellectual movements from within attain a rapid and far-reaching sway. Jesus College, for instance,

in spite of its advantages of endowments and position, has not been a leading factor in the life of Wales, whether we have regard to the specific movement of higher education or to the other great movements which have passed over the face of the country. It is not within, it is outside; a valuable link of connection with the great world of Oxford; but, as regards the movements of Welsh life, on the whole passive rather than active, acted upon rather than originative. The smaller institutions which we have considered—St. David's College and the Welsh Theological Colleges, having regard to the briefer period of their existence and their limited resources—have been more powerful agents, because they are at work from within.

Again, the University of Wales will make its influence felt, not primarily and chiefly upon men of exceptional calibre, who, even under the old *régime*, might have made their way to the older universities, but upon the mass of those whose life-work will be fulfilled in Wales, upon those who are in the truest sense the mainstay of the country. It will aim primarily at raising the intellectual level of the whole. It will also facilitate the passage to the older universities of the most capable students, and in this respect will compare favourably with the present system of preparation for the London University examinations, which hinders rather than facilitates the path to high honours at Oxford or Cambridge. It has been urged against the Welsh University that its creation would withdraw from Wales the considerable number of English students who now attend the University Colleges, and that such withdrawal would be highly undesirable; which is true enough. But the presence of students from a distance in the future will depend more upon the economy and the intrinsic excellence of the training imparted than upon success in the London University examinations; the comparative decrease of which

successes will be amply compensated by the facilitated progress to the older universities in the case of the best students. Again, the English students who now frequent the Welsh colleges do so, largely, because they are attracted by the scholarships which are annually offered for competition. When the Intermediate schools are in active operation, English students will be unable to carry off these prizes against properly-prepared Welsh candidates. Even if the withdrawal of English students did result, the main concern of Wales is the working out of her own educational problems.

The University would, perhaps, have the distinction of being the most characteristic example of a National University. We have read of the division of the students in the Paris or Oxford of the past into "nations." We have seen in Scotland, and in other countries, universities with marked characteristics of method and of aim. In Wales we shall have one university co-extensive with the whole national area, that area being limited in extent and well defined in its peculiar circumstances. The trinity of colleges will be found ultimately to contribute towards the effectiveness and even the unity of the University more powerfully than if it had been made to consist of one central college. Each college will now be in close contact with the life of each section of the country. They will be three centres of a vigorous corporate life, and will be the homes of ideas and movements which will make themselves felt in future generations. The existence of the University, and the increasing prevalence of the instruction it will provide, will produce a much-needed advance in intellectual independence and robustness. Judgments upon questions of thought, belief, or science will not then be the mere echoes of English opinion which they now too often are. The country will be conversant with the main intellectual current, will

be in constant contact through its teachers with the advance of knowledge to which it will itself contribute. Wales will learn at length the meaning of one of the mottoes of the College to which I have the honour to belong:

"Juvat integros accedere fontes."

The University will promote the formation of adequate standards of taste and judgment in matters of literature and art, and will therein correct certain uncritical tendencies which are encouraged by the competitive methods of the Eisteddfod. In a country much divided by political and religious differences it will be a symbol of that deeper national unity of thought and aspirations which lies below the surface.

ERRATUM IN VOL. X.

P. 99, note 2. Both here and in the text, two distinct battles have been confused. The Battle of *Hæthfelth* (placed by some writers at Hatfield in Yorkshire, but with no authority beyond the similarity of the two names) was the battle between Cadwallon and Edwin, in which the latter was slain ; fought, as Bede expressly tells us (*Hist. Eccl.*, ii. 20), on Oct. 12, 633, but placed in 630 by the *Annales Cambriæ*. This battle was called in Welsh the Battle of Meigen, and almost certainly took place near the Breidden Hills, on the borders of Shropshire and Montgomeryshire.

The other battle, at which the sainted king Oswald slew Cadwallon, was called in Old-Welsh the Battle of *Catscaul* or *Cantscaul*, and was fought in 635, though placed by the *Annales Cambriæ* in 631 (see *Bede*, iii. 1, 2), at a place close to the Roman Wall, called by Bede *Denisesburna* and *Hefenfelth* ('quod dici potest Latine *cælestis campus*'), and said by him to be not far from Hexham (it is supposed to have been at St. Oswald's, a chapelry near Wall, about 4 miles N. of that town).

ERRATA IN VOL. XI.

P. 26, l. 16. Dele *Carstairs*, and

P. 50, 1st l. of note (*p*), for *Carstarras* read *Casteltarras*. [The modern *Carstairs* does not apparently embody the Welsh *Caer ;* the place is called *Casteltarres* at p. 23, and *Casteltarras* at p. 30, of the *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis* (Maitland Club, Edinburgh, 1843). There is also a well-known *Tarras* Water, a tributary of the Esk, in Dumfries-shire].

P. 39, note (*f*), l. 5, for 'that' read '*Traeth* Edrywi.'

P. 56, 3rd line from bottom. For 'that' read 'that nearly.' [Velfrey, anciently *Efelfre*, a small district of Cantref Gwarthaf, is in Pembrokeshire ; another small district of the same Cantref, *Peluniog* (if that is its right orthography), which has not yet been identified, may possibly also be in that county.]

P. 79, 10th and 11th lines from bottom. *Dele* "for an older **Dibnentie* = *Dyfneint*." [The *t* of this modern form had no existence in the ancient *Dumnonia*, and is probably due to the false analogy of *nant*, 'a brook or valley,' plural *neint*].

P. 85, note 6, l. 4. For *Lannguarui* read *Lanngunguarui*, and dele "or *Lannguariu*" [see *Book of Llann Dav*, 1892, p. 201].

REPORT

OF

THE COUNCIL OF THE

Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion,

For the Year 1889—1890.

The Council deeply regret that their first duty this year is to announce to the Members a long list of losses by death.

The Rev. John Davies, M.A., an early and devoted friend of the Society, and one of the hardest-working Members of its Council for eleven years past, ended a long and honourable life in the month of September last.

Mr. Alexander Ellis, LL.D., F.R.S., one of the Honorary Members of the Society, passed away in the month of October at a still riper age, having just completed a monumental life-work.

All Welshmen will have learned with sorrow of the early death of the talented and genial *Eisteddfodwr*, the Rev. Glanffrwd Thomas, which took place a few months ago.

One of our earliest supporters has been lost to us in the person of Mr. Charles H. James, formerly well known as M.P. for Merthyr Tydfil.

In Mr. J. A. Corbett, of Cardiff, we lose, indeed, a younger Member, but one whose literary talent and anti-

quarian skill had made him eminent in the Society's chosen fields of study.

Mr. Henry Davies, of Cheltenham, who had been a Member of the Society since the year 1874, and was a Member of the Second Cymmrodorion Society early in the present century, died in March last. In pursuance of his wishes, his daughter has presented to the Society the whole of his Welsh books and books relating to Wales. The thanks of the Society are due for this generous gift.

Forty-five new Members have been added to the Society in the course of the past year.

The Lords Bishop of St. Asaph and Bangor have been appointed by the Council, Vice-Presidents of the Society.

The Council are pleased to say that Mr. Phillimore has resumed the duties of the Editorship of the Society's publications, having been formally re-appointed by the Council in January last.

Mr. J. A. Bradney, of Tal y Coed, has been appointed a Corresponding Member for Monmouthshire.

The following Meetings have been held during the year :—

In London :—

On December 18th, 1889, the late Mr. J. A. Corbett in the Chair.—Mr. Frederic Seebohm read a Paper on "The Celtic Open Field System."

,, January 8th, 1890, Professor Rhŷs in the Chair.—Mr. Joseph Jacobs read a Paper on "James Howell and the *Familiar Letters.*"

,, January 29th, 1890, Mr. Stephen Evans in the Chair.—Professor Dobbie read a Paper on "Scientific Farming as applied to Wales."

,, February 26th, 1890, Dr. Isambard Owen in the Chair.—The Rev. E. T. Davies, M.A., read a Paper entitled "A Study in Early British Christianity."

On March 12th, 1890, Mr. Edward Owen in the Chair.—Mr. J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A.Scot., read a Paper on "The Preservation of Ancient Monuments in Wales."

,, April 12th, 1890, the Rev. Robert Gwynne, M.A., in the Chair.—Mr. J. E. Lloyd, M.A., read a Paper on "Welsh Place-Names."

,, April 23rd, 1890, Mr. Stephen Evans in the Chair.—Mr. David Lewis read a Paper on "The Legal Side of Welsh Social Life in the 15th Century."

,, May 14th, 1890, Mr. John Thomas (*Pencerdd Gwalia*) in the Chair.—Mr. D. Emlyn Evans read a Paper on "The Development of Music in Wales from an Historical Point of View."

,, June 4th, 1890, The Earl of Powis in the Chair.—Mr. William Edwards, M.A., read a Paper on "The Settlement of Brittany."

,, June 25th, 1890, the Annual Conversazione; held at the African Exhibition, Regent Street.

In Bangor, in connection with the National Eisteddfod of 1890 (Cymmrodorion Section):—

On September 1st, The Lord Bishop of Bangor in the Chair.—An Inaugural Address on "The Development of Technical and Intermediate Education in Wales" was given by Mr. Arthur H. D. Acland, M.P.

,, September 3rd, The Rev. Principal Rowlands in the Chair.—A Paper on "Linguistic Training in Welsh Intermediate Schools" was read by Dr. Isambard Owen.

,, September 4th, Principal Reichel in the Chair.—Papers on "The Study of Welsh Dialects" were read by Professor Rhŷs, Mr. J. E. Lloyd, Mr. J. Morris Jones, Mr. Darlington, and Mr. Owen Edwards.

The thanks of the Society are due to Principal Reichel, who kindly acted as Honorary Secretary of the Cymmrodorion Section; and also to the Senate of the University College of North Wales for the use of the rooms in which the Meetings were held.

The following publications have been issued during the year:—

Y Cymmrodor, Vol. X. (for 1889), Parts 1 and 2, and Reports; pp. 284.

On the Construction of Educational Systems, by Isambard Owen, M.D., M.A.; pp. 20.

Y Cymmrodor, Vol. XI. (for 1890), Part 1; pp. 102.

The Preservation of Ancient Monuments in Wales, by J. Romilly Allen, Esq., F.S.A.; a separate issue for circulation among the members of the County Councils of Wales and Monmouthshire.

In accordance with the announcement made at the meeting on January 8th, when Mr. Joseph Jacobs read a paper on "James Howell and the *Familiar Letters*," a complete edition of the *Epistolæ Ho-elianæ* has been issued by the house of David Nutt.

Y Cymmrodor, Vol. XI., Part 2, is in the press.

The Council desire to recall to the attention of Members the paragraph in last year's Report referring to the formation of a special Section with a special fund for the publication of Welsh Historical Records and MSS. They have pleasure in informing Members that the first number of the "Cymmrodorion Record Series:" *The Description of Penbrokshire, by George Owen of Henllys, Lord of Kemes*, is now in the press. It is edited by Mr. Henry Owen, B.C.L., and will be published at the Editor's own expense.

In pursuance of a desire expressed at the Meeting of March 12th, the following letter was addressed, at the instance of the Council, by the President of the Society to the County Councils of Wales and Monmouthshire. A copy of the letter, with a copy of Mr. Romilly Allen's paper, above referred to, was forwarded to each member of the above-named County Councils.

THE PRESERVATION OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS IN WALES.

To the County Councils of Wales (including Monmouthshire).

THE attention of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion has been

directed to the desirability of arresting the destruction of the ancient remains with which every part of Wales abounds by a paper read before the Society on the 12th of March last by Mr. J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A.Scot., of which a copy is herewith enclosed. In deference to the suggestions then advanced by several distinguished antiquaries, the Council of the Society begs to bring Mr. Allen's paper under the notice of the County Councils of Wales, in the hope that the influence of the members of the County Councils, in their individual as well as their corporate capacity, may be exerted for the preservation of the monuments of antiquity that still exist within the area of their jurisdiction.

The Council of this Society considers it unnecessary to dwell at any length upon the value of the monuments of a past age to the students of comparative archæology and its kindred sciences, or upon the extent to which the interest of a neighbourhood and its attraction to strangers are enhanced by the existence of such monuments. Their preservation has been recognized as an imperative duty by the most enlightened nations of Europe, and is especially incumbent upon the inhabitants of a country so richly endowed with ancient remains of all kinds as Wales.

The County Councils, representing as they do every section of the community, and acquainted, as they must be, with every local feature of interest, appear to the Council of this Society to be eminently capable both of creating and influencing public opinion within their several spheres of activity, so as to ensure the results which it must be within the desire of all to attain.

The machinery at present existing for the preservation from destruction, and the subsequent care, of ancient monuments was created under the Ancient Monuments Act of 1882, the provisions of which are thus summarized by Mr. Allen :—

1. To enable the owner of any ancient monument, by deed under his hand, to constitute the Commissioners of Works its guardian; the owner, by doing so, relinquishing no right he previously possessed with regard to the monument, except that of being able to destroy it; and the Commissioners of Works, on the other hand, to maintain it.
2. To enable the Commissioners of Works to purchase any ancient monument.
3. To enable owners to bequeath ancient monuments to the Commissioners of Works.
4. To enable the Commissioners of Works to appoint one or more Inspectors of ancient monuments.

5. To enable local magistrates to punish with a fine or imprisonment any person convicted of injuring or defacing an ancient monument.

The comparative failure of the Act is due to its permissive and non-compulsory character, to the scantiness of funds allotted by the Government for its working, and to the absence of any incentive by which the owners of ancient monuments may be induced to place them under the Act.

The Council of this Society is aware that amongst the powers of the County Councils there does not exist any under which the objects contemplated by the Ancient Monuments Act can be immediately promoted, though it trusts that whenever further functions are delegated to the County Councils, care will be taken to include that of the custody of local monuments of historic or scientific value. But the Council of the Cymmrodorion Society ventures to suggest that even now, in the management of county affairs, many occasions arise upon which the County Councils could interfere with propriety and success for the preservation of a threatened monument, the destruction of which would be a serious loss to scholars, and to the neighbourhood in which it forms a point of interest. This is especially the case where such monuments are situated upon waste lands, or upon the sides of highways.

The enlightened action of the County Councils in thus constituting themselves guardians of the ancient remains in each district in the interest of the public would undoubtedly have a beneficial effect in stimulating the study of local history, a knowledge of which cannot fail to be of material assistance in the work of local self-government.

(Signed) Powis, *President.*

E. Vincent Evans, *Secretary.*

Offices of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion,
27 Chancery Lane, London, W.C.,
November, 1890.

The Council, having taken into consideration the rules of the Society, which have stood almost unchanged since the year 1873, beg to make certain suggestions for their alteration, which will be laid before this Meeting in the form of a special report.

The following presents have been received and acknowledged by the Council on behalf of the Society :—

Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition, vol. II.: Gaelic Folk- and Hero-Tales from Argyllshire. Collected, edited and translated by the Rev. D. MacInnes. With notes by the Editor and Alfred Nutt. London, David Nutt, 1890. Presented by Mr. ALFRED NUTT.

The Welsh books and books relating to Wales from the Library of the late Mr. Henry Davies, of Cheltenham. Presented by Miss C. E. G. DAVIES.

Bye-Gones relating to Wales, &c. Presented by Messrs. WOODALL, MINSHALL, & Co.

The Wrexham Advertiser. Presented by the Publisher.

The Carnarvon and Denbigh Herald. Presented by the Publisher.

The Welshman. Presented by the Publisher.

The North Wales Observer. Presented by the Publisher.

The Cambrian (Utica, N.Y.). Presented by the Publisher.

The Council have pleasure in announcing that the following arrangements have been made for Meetings in London during the Session of 1890-1 :—

1890.

Dec. 17.—Annual Meeting of the Members. Inaugural Lecture on "The True Objects of Welsh Archæology," by J. W. Willis-Bund, Esq., F.S.A., Barrister-at-Law.

1891.

Jan 21.—"Celtic Ornament, with Illustrations," by T. H. Thomas, Esq., R.C.A., of Cardiff.

Feb. 18.—"The Latest Views about Arthur," by Alfred Nutt, Esq., Author of *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail* and *Mabinogion Studies.*

Mar. 11.—*Pennillion Cymreig*, by Edward Anwyl, Esq., B.A., of Oriel College, Oxford.

April 1.—"The Proposed University for Wales," by Professor T. F. Roberts, M.A., of the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire.

April 29.—(*a*) "Wat's and Offa's Dykes," and (*b*) "The Callernish Stones of Lewis," by Alfred N. Palmer, Esq., F.S.A., of Wrexham, Author of *The History of the Parish of Wrexham*, &c., &c.

May 27.—"Henry Vaughan of Scethrog (1622-1695): Some Notes on his Life and Characteristics as a Poet of Welsh

descent," by Francis T. Palgrave, Esq., Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford.

June 24.—Annual Reunion and Conversazione.

The following members of the Council retire under Rule 5, but are eligible for re-election:

Mr. Stephen Evans.
Mr. Lewis Morris.
Professor Rhŷs-Davids.
Dr. Frederick Roberts.
Mr. John Thomas.
Dr. John Williams.
Mr. R. H. Jenkins.
Major-General Owen Jones.
Mr. David Lewis.
Mr. H. Lloyd Roberts.

A Financial Statement for the past year is appended to this report.

THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

Statement of Receipts and Payments

FROM 9TH NOVEMBER, 1889, TO 9TH NOVEMBER, 1890.

	£	s.	d.
To Balance in hand, Nov. 9th, 1890 . . .	126	12	2
,, Subscriptions (including arrears) . . .	369	8	7
,, Sale of Books, Advertisements, &c. . .	12	12	6
	£508	13	3

				£	s.	d.
By Printing of *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. x., and vol. xi., part i.	138	17	6			
,, Editorial Expenses	38	15	0			
,, General Printing (1890). . .	22	8	9			
,, Rent, Insurance, and Caretaker .	75	10	0			
,, Library Expenses	3	6	0			
,, Lectures and Meetings . . .	39	4	11			
,, Eisteddfod Section Meetings .	8	9	6			
,, Stationery, Cheque and Receipt Books	11	10	2			
,, Postage of Publications, Circulars, and Letters; and Petty Expenses	35	3	0			
,, Secretary's remuneration (Balance, 1889)	22	6	3			
,, ,, ,, (1890)	41	0	0			
				436	11	1
Balance carried forward . . .				72	2	2
				£508	13	3

Examined and found correct.

JOHN BURRELL, }
ELLIS W. DAVIES, } *Auditors.*

H. LLOYD ROBERTS, *Treasurer.*
E. VINCENT EVANS, *Secretary.*

REPORT

OF

THE COUNCIL OF THE

Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion,

For the Year 1890—1891.

THE Annual Meeting of 1891 cannot but form a somewhat sad epoch in the history of the Society, on account of the many losses by death from its ranks to which the Council are fain to allude.

The past twelvemonth has deprived the Society of one of its earliest members and one of its strongest supports. The death of the Earl of Powis, our late President, has been mourned by all classes and parties in Wales as a national loss, and nowhere, perhaps, has the loss been more keenly felt than among the Members of this Society, at whose meetings he was so regular an attendant, and to whose proceedings he seldom failed to contribute some suggestive thought or some expression of practical wisdom.

A few months later the news came that the hand of death had removed the first of our roll of Honorary Members, a scholar equally illustrious by his birth and by his attainments, H.H. the Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte, who was a frequent attendant at the Meetings of the Society as long as his health permitted him to stir abroad. The

Members of the Society will be gratified to learn that even in his last hours the thoughts of the distinguished philologist were turned towards our country and towards his numerous friends among our compatriots.

Two of the Society's Corresponding Members appear in the long death-roll of the year: Mr. Richard W. Banks, the distinguished antiquarian and archæologist of Kington, Herefordshire, and Mr. J. R. Humphreys, of Shrewsbury, whose kindly hospitality and genial welcome no Member of the Society who attended the Education Conference of 1888 will be likely to forget.

The Society has also to mourn the loss of Colonel Alexander Ridgway, a genealogist of repute and an enthusiastic student of Welsh History.

It is a gratification to the Council to be able to announce that the Most Hon. the Marquess of Bute, K.T., upon whose services to Wales and to Celtic literature it were superfluous to enlarge, has accepted the invitation of the Council to assume the office of President of the Society. The Council are also pleased to announce that the nephew and successor of the late President has accepted their invitation to become a Member and a Vice-President of the Society.

It cannot but be a matter of congratulation to the Members of the Society that one of its honoured Vice-Presidents has, during the present year, attained to the historic office of Lord Mayor of the City of London, and that in this capacity he has consented to preside over the Annual Dinner of the Society on December 16th.

With deep regret the Council has to announce that for the future the Society will be deprived of the active ser-

vices of two of their oldest and most valued colleagues, Mr. W. E. Davies and Mr. John Owens, both of whom are quitting London, and to both of whom the Society will wish every success in the new positions which they will occupy in the old country.

Notwithstanding the losses by death and by other causes the list of the Society shows a satisfactory increase of numbers, the new Members elected during the past year amounting to thirty-five.

The following Meetings have been held during the year:—

In London:—

On December 17th, 1890, Mr. Stephen Evans, J.P., in the Chair.—The Annual General Meeting of Members was held. Mr. J. W. Willis-Bund, F.S.A., gave an Inaugural Address entitled: "The True Objects of Welsh Archæology."

,, January 21st, 1891, Mr. W. Cave Thomas in the Chair.—Mr. T. H. Thomas, R.C.A., read a Paper entitled: "Celtic Ornament, with Illustrations."

,, February 18th, 1891, Mr. Edward Clodd in the Chair.—Mr. Alfred Nutt read a Paper entitled: "The Latest Views about Arthur."

,, March 11th, 1891, Mr. Stephen Evans in the Chair.—Mr. Edward Anwyl, B.A., read a Paper entitled: "*Pennillion Cymreig.*"

,, April 1st, 1891, Major Jones in the Chair.—Professor T. F. Roberts, M.A., read a Paper on "The Proposed University for Wales."

,, April 29th, 1891, the Right Hon. G. Osborne Morgan, M.P., in the Chair.—Mr. Alfred Neobard Palmer, F.S.A., read Papers on (*a*) "Wat's and Offa's Dykes," and (*b*) "The Callernish Stones of Lewis."

,, May 27th, 1891, Mr. Lewis Morris in the Chair.—Professor Palgrave read a Paper entitled: "Henry Vaughan of Scethrog (1622-1695): Some Notes on his Life and Characteristics as a Poet of Welsh descent."

,, June 24th, 1891, the Annual Conversazione; held in the Hall of the Drapers' Company.

In Swansea, in connection with the National Eisteddfod of 1891 (Cymmrodorion Section):—

On August 17th, Sir J. T. Dillwyn Llewelyn, Bart. (Mayor of Swansea), in the Chair.—Mr. Lewis Morris gave an Inaugural Address on "The Proposed University of Wales."

,, August 19th, Mr. C. H. Glascodine in the Chair.—Papers on "The Improvement of Orchestral and Instrumental Music in Wales" were read by Mr. C. Francis Lloyd, Mus. Bac., of Bristol, Mr. Squire of Swansea, and Mr. John Thomas (*Pencerdd Gwalia*). A discussion followed.

,, August 20th, The Ven. Archdeacon Griffith in the Chair.—Papers on "Home Reading for Wales" were read by the Rev. J. S. Lidgett, M.A., Mr. J. E. Lloyd, M.A., and Mr. F. S. Hobson. A discussion followed.

Three numbers of *Y Cymmrodor* are at present wholly or partially in type at the Society's printers', but have been delayed for the collation of original MSS. in various libraries, and the completion of notes and references. The Council regret that an apparent *lacuna* has thus resulted in the regularity of the series, but trust to issue the three numbers to the Members within a short period either simultaneously or in rapid succession.

The First Part of the Edition of *Owen's Pembrokeshire* undertaken by Mr. Henry Owen, F.S.A., B.C.L. (Oxon.), being the first number of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series*, will be completed before the close of December. This admirable reproduction has been edited by and published at the sole expense of Mr. Henry Owen, who most generously offers a copy of the work free of charge to every Member of the Society. The Editor of *Y Cymmrodor* has contributed to the *Pembrokeshire* a number of topographical and historical notes of great value and interest.

The following presents have been received and duly acknowledged by the Council on behalf of the Society.

A copy (imperfect) of the first Welsh Bible. Presented by Dr. Powell, of Newcastle Emlyn.

Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition. No. iii. *Folk and Hero Tales.* Collected, edited, translated and annotated by the Rev. J. MacDougall, with an Introduction by Alfred Nutt. London: David Nutt, 1891.—No. iv. *The Fians, or Stories, Poems, and Traditions of Fionn and his Warrior Band,* Collected entirely from Oral Sources by John Gregorson Campbell, Minister of Tiree, with Introduction and Biographical Note by Alfred Nutt. London: David Nutt, 1891. Presented by Mr. Alfred Nutt.

Critique by A. Nutt: *Les Derniers Travaux Allemands sur la Légende du Saint Graal.* Presented by the Author.

The Ideal of Man, by Arthur Lovell. London: Chapman and Hall, Limited, 1891. Presented by (the author) Mr. D. Coethyr Williams.

Cæsar Borgia; a Tragedy; and other Poems. By William Evans, B.A., Oxon. 1890. Presented by the Author.

The Calender of the University College of North Wales, 1891-92. Presented by the Registrar.

Bye-Gones relating to Wales, &c., presented by Messrs. Woodall, Minshall, & Co.

The *Wrexham Advertiser*, the *Carnarvon and Denbigh Herald*, the *Welshman*, the *Cambrian*, and the *North Wales Observer*, by their respective Publishers.

The Council have much pleasure in announcing that papers have been promised for the ensuing Lecture Session by:—

Mr. J. W. Willis-Bund, on "The Early History of the Celtic Church."

Mr. E. Sidney Hartland, on "The Sin-Eater."

The Rev. Professor G. Hartwell Jones, M.A., on "The Place of the Welsh Laws among Early Aryan Systems."

Mr. F. York Powell, M.A., on "Early Welsh Poetry," and

Mr. J. Gwenogvryn Evans, M.A., on "Welsh Proverbs."

It is hoped that the President of the Society will deliver his Inaugural Address before the end of the Session.

Under the Laws of the Society as revised at our last General Meeting the terms of office of the following officers expire :—

The President ;
The Vice-Presidents ;
The Treasurer ;
The Auditors ;

and ten Members of the Council retire, but are eligible for re-election, viz. :—

Mr. Stephen Evans.
Mr. W. E. Davies.
Mr. Hugh Edwards.
Mr. E. Vincent Evans.
Mr. J. Milo Griffith.
Mr. Ellis Griffith.
Mr. R. H. Jenkins.
Major-General Owen Jones.
Mr. David Lewis.
Mr. Owen Lewis.

A vacancy also occurs through the resignation of Mr. John Owens, who has removed to Wales.

A Financial Statement for the past year is appended to this Report.

THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

Statement of Receipts and Payments.

FROM 9TH NOVEMBER, 1890, TO 9TH NOVEMBER, 1891.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
To Balance in hand, Nov. 9th, 1891 . . .	72	2	2	By Rent, Insurance, &c. , . .	70	0	0				
,, Subscriptions (including arrears) . . .	271	12	6	,, Library Expenses	2	13	0				
,, Sale of Publications	2	15	0	,, Lectures and Meetings . . .	33	12	0				
				,, Postage and °/a Petty Expenses .	10	0	0		116	5	0
				,, Balance in hand (subject to payment of sundry liabilities for 1891, amounting to £177 12*s.*)					230	4	8
	£346	9	8						£346	9	8

Examined and found correct.

JOHN BURRELL, ELLIS W. DAVIES, } *Auditors.*

H. LLOYD ROBERTS, *Treasurer.*
E. VINCENT EVANS, *Secretary.*

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